THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

MAY 1962

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LEONARD E. READ *President,* Foundation for Economic Education

PAUL L. POIROT *Managing Editor*

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COMMUNISM IS NOT THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

COMMUNISTS, like the Nazis before them, like to regard their movement as an irresistible wave of the future, destined to inundate the entire world. In the days when he was the Number Two man – after Stalin – among the Soviet rulers, Vyacheslav Molotov declared that "all roads lead to communism."

The present Soviet dictator, Nikita Khrushchev, shouted when a group of Western diplomats walked out of a diplomatic reception in Moscow because of an insult: "All the same, we shall bury you." In his more benevolent moments Khrushchev has predicted that the grandchildren of the present generation of Americans will live under communism, with or without assistance from the death-dealing missiles of which he likes to boast.

And it is not only communists who cherish this wave-of-the-future theory. Devoted anticommunists, discouraged by apathy and weakness in the free world, sometimes share this conviction. So the late Whittaker Chambers, who almost singlehanded brought Alger Hiss to justice, said to his wife when he quit the communist underground in revulsion and disgust:

"I know that I am leaving the winning side for the losing side. But it is better to die on the losing side than to live under communism."

It would certainly be folly to

Mr. Chamberlin is a skilled observer and reporter of economic and political conditions at home and abroad. He has written a number of books, has lectured widely, and is a contributor to *The Wall Street Journal* and many nationally known magazines.

Illustration: United Press International Photo

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brush aside as insignificant the threat of Soviet and Chinese expansionist communism or to underrate the assets which communism possesses: a creed that admits no doubt, for instance, an unrivaled apparatus for espionage and subversion, an ability to concentrate economic resources on what seems to its leaders to be the most essential political and military tasks.

But excessive pessimism is also out of place. Time is by no means necessarily on the side of the Reds. Assuming that the free peoples keep their heads, remain united in purpose and action, firm and clear in resolution, there are no less than seven good reasons why communism will not be the wave of the future, why it may be expected to recede or even to collapse, rather than to advance to the conquest of Europe outside the Iron Curtain and then of America.

The Situation Is Different

First, the conditions do not exist in the Western world that made it possible for a small group of well-organized fanatics, exploiting chaotic conditions after unsuccessful war and resorting to ruthless demagogy, to seize power first in the Soviet Union, later in Yugoslavia, finally in China. (The other Soviet satellite states are not considered, because in these communism was simply imposed by the military power of the Red Army.)

Czarist Russia, despite its imposing size and powerful military and police build-up, was a colossus on feet of clay. There was a sense of sullen alienation between the poor, uneducated majority – most of the peasants and the industrial workers – and the well-to-do educated aristocracy and middle class. There was resentment on the part of peoples who had been brought unwillingly under Russian power. Too few Russians had a sense of having a stake in the stability of the country's economic order. Add the pressure of World War I, and the ingredients of violent revolution are there. In this age of the affluent society there is no parallel in Western Europe or America for prerevolutionary Russian conditions.

This is perhaps even more true as regards China, where most of the people lived on a more precarious subsistence basis than the Russians. Eight years of Japanese invasion and occupation of all China's main cities had disorganized the administration and economy of the country. Poor and ignorant people furnish the most receptive audience for communist demagogy and false promises. As they are, half-starved at back-breaking labor in communes,

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many Chinese doubtless feel that they made the biggest mistake of their lives in siding with the communists against the nationalists. But they are caught in a steel trap of military and police control and universal spying from which it is very hard to escape.

Again, there is no duplication in the Western world for the conditions which preceded the communist take-over in China. This is also true as regards Yugoslavia, a poor, economically retarded Balkan state which was torn to pieces by racial internal feuds during the German occupation.

Schismatic Tendencies

Second, international communism is now displaying clear tendencies toward fission and schism. Much of the supposed strength of international communism was derived from its unity. But the old impression of a little group of men in Moscow able to dispose of the strength not only of the Soviet Union, but of every other communist-ruled nation no longer corresponds with the facts.

Yugoslavia is still a communist country, although with some modifications, including the virtual abandonment of collective farming. But dictator Tito's breach with Moscow in 1948 is likely to rate more than a footnote in history. For this was the first proof that a communist-ruled country could secede from Moscow's leadership. Much more potentially significant is the evident rift between Moscow and Peiping. No one can say with assurance how far this will go. Relations between the two communist giants are like an iceberg, with much more submerged than showing. But the bitter, if veiled, polemics which have been flying back and forth between the two big communist centers for years make it clear that Peiping can no longer be rated as a Moscow satellite.

As has often happened with religious movements, nationalism has cut across the dream of international communist solidarity. Tito's expulsion took place after he resented Stalin's desire to butt in and run Yugoslavia over Tito's head. Much of the Soviet-Chinese quarrel may be traced back to differences of national development and conflicts of national interest. This tendency of communism to break up into factions and schisms is one of the strongest reasons for doubting that a communist world state will ever emerge.

Soviet Imperialism

Third, is Soviet imperialism. The rule of one country over another is an increasing political and moral liability. And, while the historic empires of Great Britain,

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France, the Netherlands, and Belgium have been diminishing to the vanishing point, the Soviet Union has become the world's leading imperialist power, with approximately one hundred million subjects in eastern and central Europe.

If the peoples of comparatively ignorant and backward Asian and African countries insist on throwing off their former European overlords, is it likely that proud peoples with long traditions of independence, peoples like the Poles and Hungarians, can be held forever on a Moscow leash? Even more strain is involved in the maintenance of the quaintly misnamed "German Democratic Republic" (which is neither German, nor democratic, nor a republic) in the Soviet Zone of Occupation, where the monstrous Berlin wall is necessary to keep a large part of the population from stampeding to political and economic freedom in the German Federal Republic across the line of demarcation. Germans, Poles, and Hungarians may be cowed for the present. But the maintenance of Soviet imperialism will involve ever greater strains in the future and may end some day in a catastrophic blow-up. At the least, schismatic tendencies are likely to appear in the leadership of these satellite countries.

Failure of Collective Farming

Fourth, there is the dismal proved incompetence of communist direction in farming. Over the long pull a nation, like an army, marches on its stomach. Soviet collective farming has been more than a monstrous crime, committed by the state against millions of peasants and members of their families who were driven from their homes, sent to forced labor, starved in a great famine in order to force the peasants to submit to this new form of serfdom. It has been one of the biggest productive failures in human history. For three years Soviet agriculture has stood stock-still, despite Khrushchev's constant dashes around the countryside, exhorting, denouncing, firing incompetent farm administrators and officials who lied about figures of output. The system of putting the peasants to work on big farms under the direction of managers who are chosen for commitment to the Communist Party rather than for knowledge of agriculture has not worked.

According to the latest figures, 38.3 million workers are employed on Soviet collective and state farms. (The difference between the two is that in theory collective farms are the property of their members, while state farms are out-and-out state enterprises, em-

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ploying workers on a wage basis.) American agriculture now has 5.7 million workers. But with more than six times as many people employed, Soviet agriculture turns out (for a people of bread-eaters) only two-thirds as much grain and less than half as much meat as comes off American farms. Comparative figures for vegetables and fruits would be even more unfavorable to Soviet agriculture.

Perhaps the surest giveaway as to what is wrong with Soviet agriculture is the practice in Soviet newspapers of publishing a spate of reports from "the agricultural front," urging the collective farmers of Kazakhstan to get busy with the wheat harvest or praising a collective farm in Ryazan Province for getting in its rye ahead of normal time. An individual peasant who owned his own land and had a direct personal interest in raising as large a crop as possible would not need any such prodding. Both in Poland and in Yugoslavia the food situation eased considerably when the peasants were given the option of staying in collective farms or getting out. Most of them chose to get out.

Khrushchev is caught on the horns of a dilemma. The method by which he could achieve a big upsurge in peasant output would be to restore private property in land. But this his communist dogmatism will not permit. In China the communes into which the peasants were dragooned have caused perhaps even more suffering than the Soviet collective farms. The general testimony of refugees who escape to Hong Kong or Macao, at the risk of their lives, is that near-starvation conditions prevail in the communes, that the lowest menial jobs in Hong Kong or Macao pay far more in terms of rice and other foodstuffs than the peasants in the communes ever see.

The surest recipe for creating acute shortage, if not famine, in a naturally rich agricultural area is to introduce collective farming. Does this look like a "wave of the future," especially when contrasted with the farm produce which modern technology, combined with private land ownership, creates in noncommunist lands?

They Vote with Their Feet

Fifth, is what may be called the verdict of the feet. Lenin said that the Russian army in 1917 voted for peace with its feet, by running away. There is no free voting under communist rule. But people have been voting against it, with their feet, in impressive fashion. For an individual to quit permanently a noncommunist for a communist country is about as

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rare as the proverbial man biting a dog. Movement in the opposite direction, away from communist-ruled lands, is on a massive scale. More than three million Germans have testified to preferring freedom and capitalism to dictatorship and communism by making tracks for the Federal Republic. The erection of the notorious wall, sealing off East from West Berlin is a memorial, erected by the communists themselves, to the penitentiary conditions under which the shrinking population of the Soviet Zone lives. Does this look like the wave of the future for Germany?

Equally striking was the stampede for freedom from Hungary in 1956, after the hope of liberty had been extinguished; the tremendous flight from North Korea to South Korea; the sizable movement from North Vietnam to South Vietnam; the unprecedented pressure of refugees from Red China.

If communism is really the wave of the future, bringing better living conditions for the average man, it seems improbable that so many people would run away from it.

Revolt Among the Youth

Sixth, communism has failed to hold and mold the young people under its rule, even after years and sometimes decades of intensive indoctrination. It was teenage boys and girls, products of communist education, who sparked the revolt against communism in Hungary. Even in the Soviet Union, where the process of propaganda and indoctrination has gone on much longer, there is abundant evidence in the controlled Soviet press and also in reports brought back by foreign visitors that the younger Soviet generation is very far from being a group of faceless robots who act and talk and think in line with official slogans.

Soviet newspapers are full of angry complaints about the doings of individuals who prefer the quick rubles of speculation to the limited rewards of regular toil at the factory bench. There are so many shortages of supply, so many loopholes in the clumsy system of state distribution, that handsome illicit profits can often be earned by individuals who, in one way or another, play the role of surreptitious middlemen and see that the desired goods reach eager and frustrated customers.

Soviet moralists like to represent drunkenness and juvenile delinquency as products of "bourgeois degeneracy." But this explanation breaks down in the face of the prevalence of such trends among Soviet young people who

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have been brought up under communism. The true explanation seems to be the ghastly boredom of Soviet life, especially in the provinces, and a growing impatience among young people, especially of the educated class, with stale clichés of official propaganda.

Almost all travelers in the Soviet Union bring back stories of intense interest among Soviet young people in everything Western, the cut of clothes, styles in automobiles, jazz records, new forms in music and art. The model Soviet boy and girl who seal their vows of love with pledges to outdo all production records in turning out pig iron and milking cows seem to exist mainly in the pages of Soviet hack novelists. It could be that, far from seeing America's grandchildren living under communism, the next Soviet generation will demand big modifications in the present structure of communism. In any case, a system that clearly does not win the enthusiastic confidence of its own youth is not likely to be a world-conquering force.

Capitalism Is Not Collapsing as Predicted

Seventh, but by no means least in importance, one of the big cards of Soviet agitation has been decisively trumped by the course of events. This is the dogmatic conviction that the capitalist, or individualist, economic system is foredoomed to collapse, leaving communism the only competitor in the field. Nothing of the kind is in reasonable prospect and all the resources of Soviet propaganda are increasingly ineffective in persuading the Russian people that it will happen.

No doubt the individualist system would have functioned much better without the injection of large doses of socialistic drugs. But even as it functions today, there is a great difference in the enjoyment of individual liberty and in the scope allowed for profits and consumer choices as between America and Western Europe, on one side, and the Soviet Union on the other. Especially disheartening to communist peddlers of gloom and doom has been the vigorous leap forward of the European economy in the last decade. Some European countries, notably Germany and Italy (where the long chronic unemployment has very much abated) have achieved annual industrial growth rates very close to those of the Soviet Union, and bringing far more real goods and satisfactions to their peoples. The Soviet consumer is starved for the upkeep of a big military machine and shortchanged by poor quality of housing and consumer goods.

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Now that the rigid seclusion imposed by Stalin on the Soviet Union has relaxed, now that foreigners visit the Soviet Union and a limited number of Soviet citizens travel abroad, it becomes harder and harder to conceal from the Russian people the fact that the United States and Western Europe are far ahead of the Soviet Union in everything from personal freedom and variety of choice to availability of housing and automobiles. (The Soviet Union has 3 cars per 1,000 citizens, to Europe's 85 and America's 339.)

Perhaps a student of history, writing with the perspective of the year 2,000, will identify communism in retrospect as not the wave of the future, but the backwash of a reactionary past, swept away by the increasing incompatibility between its false and sterile dogmas and the natural instinct of human beings for a freer, more varied way of life. ◈

DEAN RUSSELL

SOCIALISM IS NOT THE ANSWER

SOCIOLOGISTS generally agree that "aid to dependent children" (including foster homes for them) is a great improvement over the old system of orphanages and other institutions. And for the past 50 years, most sociologists have advocated more government aid for this purpose – that is, to permit the children of deceased or destitute or depraved parents to grow up in a more normal home environment than can be found in an institution.

Unquestionably, the sentiment behind that objective is excellent. I am convinced, however, that sociologists who advocate more government subsidies as the best solution to this problem are overlooking a vital point.

For example, orphanages and similar institutions have traditionally operated on straight so-

Dr. Russell is Professor of Economics at Rockford College and Chairman of the Department of Economics and Business Administration. This article is from his weekly editorial column in the Sunday edition of the Rockford (Illinois) *Morning Star*, January 21, 1962.

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cialistic theory. The authority expects each youngster to contribute to the group whatever he can. And each receives from the authority whatever he needs. Individuality is not encouraged.

The effect of this equal treatment has generally been dismal for all concerned. Sociologists are well aware of the drawbacks of institutional life for children, but they seldom if ever consider the possibility that the cause of the undesirable consequences is the socialistic arrangement itself, rather than the absence of parents.

An Orphan's Experience

Perhaps this true story (merely one of many I could select for the purpose) will help to illustrate the point I am here making.

A new superintendent arrived at an orphanage near Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1932. He discovered that the institution had always been run on the socialistic principle of "to each according to his need; from each according to his ability." The children were treated absolutely alike; in fact, it was necessary to assign each one a number in order to distinguish their equal and identical possessions. That socialistic paradise of equality and security, however, was a drab and deadening place without challenge; kids were always running away from it.

The superintendent immediately installed an arrangement that was as close to a free market operation as the situation would permit. All of the children (even the six-year-olds) were put on an incentive system of one kind or another. Those who were age 12 and over were assigned basic quotas for their regular farm and house jobs. They were also given small plots of land for themselves, and free time to use as they pleased. If they produced more than their quotas, they were paid in cash or in additional free time. Each could use as he pleased any money he earned from his own land and from his own free time.

Not surprisingly, the first thing that this competitive system brought to light was the fact that no one is equal to anyone else. That had always been true, but the socialistic system had tended to conceal it.

Quite a number of the kids (perhaps one out of five) didn't prosper under the new arrangement. They earned nothing. And for all I know, the experience may have given them an inferiority complex.

Most of the children, however, were happy indeed with the new system. Almost all of them were better off in one way or another. And none ran away.

They used all of the customary

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ways for youngsters to earn money, and then invented a few of their own. Frequently, they produced the season's earliest tomatoes in that area, and sold them at a high price. Sewing, baby sitting, dishwashing, cleaning, car washing, snow shoveling, shoe shining, delivering papers, selling magazines – you name it, and some boy or girl tried it.

One boy got rich – almost $100 in 15 months. Most of it came from his new business of selling live minnows as bait to fishermen. He finally had to hire several of his friends to catch minnows for him to sell.

When those kids left the orphanage at age 18, they knew that people are not equal. They had been taught that their futures depended strictly on their own abilities and efforts. Thus, they were a bit surprised to discover that the world they were entering was moving backwards toward the socialistic system of compulsory equality and security they had abandoned. But since they were impressionable and adaptable teenagers, most of them soon reverted to the old philosophy of their new leaders.

Over the years, the number of children in that orphanage decreased steadily—not because there were fewer orphans but because government aid to dependent children soon abolished the need for the institution. It is now closed.

Government Must Provide

Today's children of deceased and destitute and depraved parents are now all taught that it is the duty of government to support them, as well as their parents and grandparents and others. Since they are impressionable and adaptable teenagers, almost all of them accept it as right, and teach it to their own children. Thus, after 30 years of such instruction, it is hardly surprising that most American people now believe that the primary function of government is to provide for all who are having economic difficulties – real or merely comparative.

Under that socialistic philosophy, crime, greed, and immorality on all levels of our society are increasing steadily, both absolutely and percentagewise. Most sociologists are still teaching and advocating more government subsidies to stop it.

Perhaps they will eventually give serious consideration to the possibility that socialism is not the cure but the cause of the problem.

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7 MENTAL GAPS in our thinking about Russia
MYTHS the Free World thoughtlessly accepts

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

ALTHOUGH we have dissolved much of the fog in our thinking about Russia during the past ten years, our concept of this global menace still remains distorted by a series of assiduously cultivated myths.

In fact, I have just now momentarily nourished one of these myths by saying, "our thinking about Russia" when I should have referred to the "Soviet Union." This is the most common myth: using "Russia" and "the Soviet Union" interchangeably as if they were the same territory and the same people. It suits the communists just fine when we commit this error.

Russia is only one of the fifteen entities that comprise the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. But as the "boss" nation of the communist federation it strives to make the world believe that the other nations are *natural* members of one big Russian family whose papa sits in the Kremlin.

This is not just a semantic quibble. Moscow wants us to forget that its empire began with the gun-point capture, between 1918 and 1922, of over fourteen non-Russian nations that differ, often markedly, from Russia proper in language, race, history, culture, and religion. Simply stated, these nations are no more Russian than the Irish are English, or than the Japanese are Chinese. They were first subjugated by the Czars, then more terribly resubjugated by Lenin and Stalin, and are still in captivity under Khrushchev.

Dr. Dobriansky, Professor of Economics at Georgetown University, is well known as a writer and lecturer on communism and Soviet policy.

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When they are misidentified as Russian, it serves Moscow's purposes because the term Russia bypasses the fact of a Soviet empire, and obscures that empire's internal problems and inherent weaknesses. Morever, when we call the people of the many non-Russian nations Russians, we in effect ignore their legitimate feelings of national pride and loyalty, and we appear to approve of their forcible absorption into the communist totalitarian empire.

But even more important, the acceptance of this first myth conditions people to an easy and often unquestioning belief in other myths that build up the false face the Kremlin shows to the world.

A Federal Union

For instance, the Kremlin communists and their apologists in America have for years spread the fiction that the U. S. S. R. is a federal union of states very much like the United States of America. This spurious claim is obviously an attempt to equate Russia's armed conquest and forced incorporation of other nations with our union of fifty states and territories that freely willed their own federalization. Ours is a single and freely united nation; the Soviet Union is a multinational empire held together by totalitarian brutality, but disguised as a federal union.

This myth is unwittingly encouraged by the failure of our press and news commentators continually to emphasize that the Soviet Union is a vast and brutally forged empire within an even more wickedly wrought communist empire. Prominent Americans on occasion perpetuate this myth of a Soviet Union of freely federalized states when they refer to Ukraine as Russia's Texas and compare Byelorussia to Massachusetts!

Part of the price we pay for this thoughtlessness is our failure to convince millions in Africa, Asia, Central and South America that we are not the imperialistic and colonial monster that the communist empire builders charge us as being.

The Nationality Problem

The Soviet Union's myth of it being a free federal union similar to the United States of America is supported by what may be called its population myth. This is expressed in such terms as "the national minorities" and "the nationality problem" in the Soviet Union, with the suggestion that it parallels the U. S. minorities situation but is handled with more justice and wisdom, and with much less friction.

Here again we see the hand of masterful propagandists, uninhibited by obligations to the truth,

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turning gullible minds away from the fact of the captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, and toward the scarlet fiction that some 214 million Russians lovingly stand together under the hammer and sickle.

The facts contradict this Soviet-created illusion. About 54 per cent of the U.S.S.R.'s population is non-Russian. In fourteen of the Soviet republics non-Russian natives are a majority of their population. Only a propagandist indifferent to truth would call these nations, with their native majorities, "national minorities." They are nations with distinctive cultures and histories, one of which goes back 4,000 years. But by referring to them as "national minorities" Moscow further diverts attention from the empire it rules and the colonialism it practices as a fixed policy.

It is grimly amusing to note that Karl Marx called the Czarist empire "a prison-house of nations" – an even more appropriate epithet for the system that today pays lip loyalty to communism's founder.

Misplacing the Blame

The free world's acceptance of these Soviet myths is indicated by another common error we make – one the Kremlin totalitarians are content to leave uncorrected. That is, the mistake many anti-Soviet individuals and agencies make when they rebuke other fervent opponents of the Soviet Union who customarily assert that the free world's enemy is "totalitarian Russian imperialism." The burden of their protest against this characterization is that our real enemy is international communism, and that the term "totalitarian imperialism" lays the crimes of communism on the Russian nation and people, rather than on the Marxist ideology.

Moscow has no quarrel with this argument. It permits her to continue accumulating slave colonies behind the façade of Marxist historical materialism that has no relationship to the Soviet empire. When we attack Soviet communism as the sole enemy, Khrushchev has only to reply that the "imperialist West" is opposed to the concept of soviets, which are no more than representative workers' councils.

But when we point to Russia's history of imperialism – during the Czars under the banners of the Third Rome and Pan Slavism, and since 1918 under the guise of communism – then Khrushchev can do little more than rage impotently, as he has most notably done when we celebrated Captive Nations Week.

Moreover, when we speak of

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Russian totalitarian imperialism and refer to its colonialism and the certainty of ultimate Moscow control and empire absorption, then we are dealing with facts that have flesh and blood meaning in the world of today. Restless millions of have-nots are more easily aroused against imperialism and colonialism – which they think they have experienced and understand – than against communism, which they do not know or understand.

The Big Brother Myth

In order to solidify its empire and lull the suspicions of newly acquired colonies, Moscow has for years circulated the Big-Brother myth: the figment that the U.S.S.R. is an ever-loving brotherhood, with the Russians themselves always the benevolent big brothers.

However, there are some false notes in this sweet song: for example, that the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union do not want to be independent, and that they are grateful to the Russians for whatever they have of well-being. In order to make this campaign more plausible and palatable the Kremlin ordered a rewriting of the early histories of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, and Muscovy (Russia). Moscow not only compiles dishonest records of its own history, but reaches far back to distort and twist the chronicles of earlier times to fit its propaganda.

There is, of course, no special brotherly relationship between the Soviet Union's non-Russian nations and Russia. Nor do they recognize the Russians as their benefactors. In fact, they know that Russia would be a second-rate power if deprived of its economically rich captive nations.

Although the big brother song is crooned primarily to those within the Soviet Union, it is also yodeled in the free world to discourage us from thinking of Kremlin power as a totalitarian empire without precedent in history, extending from the Danube to the Pacific.

It is no coincidence that the Soviet myths we have been discussing complement and support each other. They are the carefully devised and skillfully circulated inventions of propaganda technicians who employ truth only when it serves their purposes.

It Began Before 1940

Moreover, when we fall into these several propaganda traps, we often then unwittingly do some myth-making of our own in behalf of the Kremlin. For example, we find ourselves dating the beginning of Red Russian imperialism as of the 1940's when Moscow

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seized the Baltic States and then moved into Central Europe. We point to the capture of these "satellite" nations and suggest that a just and enduring peace could be established if the Iron Curtain were pushed back to the Soviet Union's prewar borders. Thus we imply that the Soviet Union is truly Russian, a freely organized federation of some 214 million Russians and some foreign language minorities such as are found in our own country. The Russians' record of imperialist aggression between 1917 and 1940 is consequently ignored. Russia's basic empire goes unremarked, while its captives – greater in number than the total "satellite" population – perhaps conclude the world has forgotten them.

Endorsement by Implication

Finally, the myth of peaceful coexistence between the Soviet Union and the free world amounts to little more than agreement that the Kremlin shall be permitted to strengthen its empire and perfect its plans for the subversion and eventual conquest of the free world. Peaceful coexistence is a form of negative support of Russian totalitarian imperialism.

The alternative is not war, but the development of a relentless spirit of revolution against Russian imperial rule and for the independence of the captive nations both within the Soviet Union and the more recently acquired "satellite" nations.

We can best engender this spirit of revolt against Red tyranny by continually rededicating ourselves to the great traditions that have made us a powerful nation of free men. However incomplete may be our achievement of ideal freedom, nevertheless we still stand before the world – and particularly before the captive world – as an eloquent example of freedom and its rewards.

When we stand on this foundation – and resolve it shall not be undermined – we can in all truth and consistency reaffirm our national tradition that all the peoples of the world have the God-given right to determine their own destiny, free of external coercion or interference. And inherent in this tradition is its logical extension that every individual has the basic right freely to choose his own way of life, without dictation from coercive government.

This inspiration, example, and goal will always remain our major contribution to the freedom of other peoples, and whatever else we do for them should be done within and as an expression of these principles.

Peaceful coexistence, a term first used by the wily Lenin, is a

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Kremlin cold war propaganda prop with great slogan value because it appeals to our yearning for peace. But since the phrase properly embraces a free and liberal exchange of cultures, ideas, and information, it is impossible of true realization. The Iron Curtain cannot be lifted without endangering the survival of the Russian totalitarian empire. And that is all the Kremlin is interested in preserving and expanding.

It is instructive to observe that Moscow attempts no defense of its brazen colonialism, but instead shifts the spotlight from itself to others by shamelessly demanding, as it did in December 1960, that the United Nations call for an end to colonialism. This from a power that holds at least 22 nations – totaling over 214 million souls – in direct, iron-bound captivity.

And this from a centrally controlled international conspiracy that plots the subjugation of still more nations, while the free world since the end of World War II has added to its rolls over 35 former colonies, protectorates, and other dependent areas – with a total population of 800 million people – most of them helped to national independence by the Western powers upon whom they were previously dependent.

Thus, as the Western nations abandon colonialism, Russian imperialism retains all of its captives and hungers for more.

When the world realizes – as it must for its salvation – the colossal hypocrisy that shields Moscow's malevolent ambitions, then we may hope for an end of the terror that bestrides this little star on which we live. ◈

POPULATION FIGURES

Major National Entities in U.S.S.R.*

Russians		98 million	
Non-Russians		116 million	
Estonia	1,200,000	Idel-Ural	15,000,000
Latvia	2,100,000	Georgia	4,000,000
Lithuania	2,700,000	Armenia	1,800,000
Byelorussia	10,800,000	Azerbaijan	3,700,000
Ukraine	42,000,000	Turkestan	17,500,000
Cossackia	10,000,000	Others	5,200,000

* Rounded estimates based on 1959 U.S.S.R. census.

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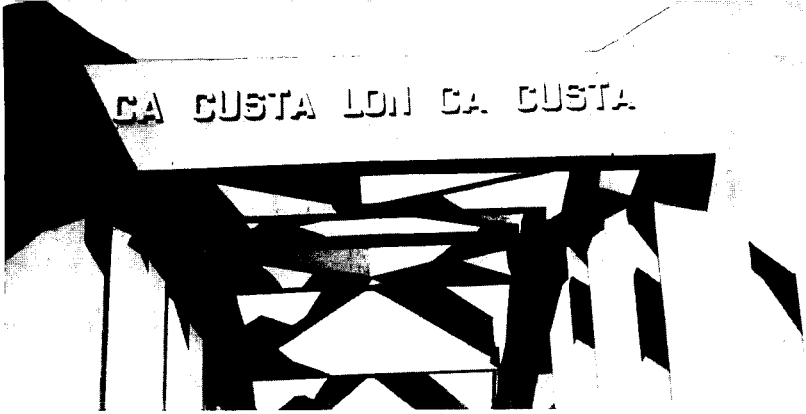

"LET IT COST WHAT IT MAY"

FRANCIS E. MAHAFFY

THE BRIDGE was sturdily constructed and esthetically satisfying. It spanned a deep ravine in the former Italian colony in East Africa. I drove across it recently and my eye caught some words on one of the arches: "Ca Custa Lon Ca Custa." I asked an Italian friend to translate for me. It was a motto, he said, which might be freely rendered as: "Let It Cost What It May." I inquired about the bridge and learned that it had been built in the heyday of Italian expansiveness under Mussolini's fascism. The motto perfectly fitted the imperial mood of Italy in the thirties, and it comes pretty close to capturing the mood which reigns in every country today – although few governments or individuals are so frank when it comes to putting into words their lack of concern for the way they use other people's money.

Reflect on our space program. No expense is to be spared in the effort to place an American on the moon in this decade. A prominent columnist acclaims the project, even though it may have no military value, for the sake of prestige in the world-wide popularity contest with Russia. It matters not that in the process we may wreck the economy and thus open the gates to the Russification of our society! "Let it cost what it may," for the money comes from the people, and not the government.

This cynical motto is an obvious betrayal of American ideals. The sooner we renounce it, privately and politically, the sooner we may commence restoration of our eroding freedoms. ◈

The Reverend Mr. Mahaffy has served since 1945 as a missionary of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in Eritrea, East Africa.

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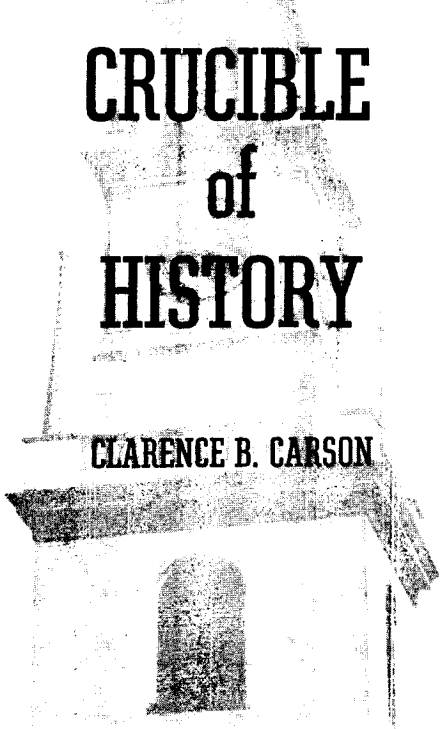
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY in the CRUCIBLE of HISTORY

CLARENCE B. CARSON



1. The Foundations of American Liberty

THERE IS a growing awareness that we Americans, individually and as a people, have lost our bearings. Some try to still the uneasiness that this awareness arouses by adopting public postures of confidence. Others react by denouncing those who suggest that everything is not just as it should be. Groups are being formed throughout the land that focus on this or that ailment as the source of our troubles. The extremes are represented by the quietism of President Kennedy and the near hysteria of the Minute Men.

Our actual condition may be likened to that of a company of people which, having set out upon a journey, has been lost in a jungle. The acknowledged leaders, fearing to divide and frighten the people, refuse to admit they have lost their way. As for the rest, they are divided, and fall roughly into three camps. The first group would have everyone turn back, retracing their steps to the place from whence they had come. The second group favors staying where they are. The situation, they say,

Dr. Carson is Associate Professor of History at Jacksonville State College in Alabama. This is the first of six articles in a series on *Individual Liberty in the Crucible of History*. The second one, "Undermining the Foundations," appears next moth.

Illustration: Tower of Old North Church, by A. Devaney, Inc., New York.

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is tolerable, and conditions are familiar. The third group, to which the leaders profess to belong, urges moving on, though none claims to know where such a course would lead. Dangers lie behind, for many have seen them and some have fallen victim to them on the way. Ahead lie even more formidable dangers, possibly, and the way is not even marked out. There is considerable inducement for the company to stay where they are, and, despite the bold proclamations of the leaders about pressing on to new frontiers, a disinterested observer would be able to discern little movement, if the milling around be discounted.

This parable, however, does little more than reduce our conditions to a figurative language, in terms of which we may be able to grasp it. It affirms the estimate that we have lost our way. But why are we lost? What is it that we have lost? How is our sense of direction (or purpose) to be restored?

Paths Already Explored

We have already taken some of the false paths out of the wilderness. There is no need, for example, to appoint commissions of men whose sense of reality has been dulled by years of bureaucratic endeavor, to name national goals. They will, predictably and demonstrably (re: President's Commission on National Goals), only rework the tired clichés of a bankrupt "liberalism." Nor should we turn to the psychologizers who will give us their pet theories about why we *think* something is wrong. Already men of this ilk are spreading their preconceived explanations of the sources of the new conservatism. It would be wiser to follow medical practice and check the physical condition of the patient first before concluding that his ills are psychological. Nor, if we have lost our sense of purpose, as I think, should the contest with the Soviet Union for world influence be substituted for real and vital purposes. It is of little value to affirm that communism conflicts with our way of life if we do not know what that way is.

Unity that forever depends upon external threats of destruction is negative and pointless. If all enemies were to disappear, there would be every incentive to invent one, as George Orwell foresaw in *1984*. We have followed too long the path of mustering national action by proclaiming national emergencies. That Presidents should find it necessary to do this simply underscores the loss of direction, purpose, and orientation.

Mark well, too, that the cry for leaders and ideologies, which wells up from among us, is the preface

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to the creation of dictatorships and totalitarian states. Twentieth century Europe has already followed this broad path to destruction. Must we follow their example, our eyes closed to the already demonstrated catastrophe which awaits at its end?

There is another way whose outline has begun to take shape for some of us. Let me describe it first by way of analogy. A man who realizes that he may have lost his way will begin to look for familiar landmarks. If there are none ahead, he does well to turn back and to retrace his steps to the point where he knows he is on the right road. In terms of national purpose, this means a return to foundations. It means that the foundations will have to be uncovered and explored anew, and that plans for action will have to be measured in terms of consistency with them.

This is no easy way. There are no guarantees that it will work. No leaders can shoulder the burden while we bask in the sunshine of their favor. Yet it accords well with the basic experience of man, and this in itself should commend the course to us.

Indeed, our very terminology implies that retracing our steps is the right course. That we are lost suggests that once we were on the right path. The initial effort, then, should be made to rediscover the way, to return to the point where we went astray. In short, the problem is in part historical. That it should be so is a tremendous advantage. It means that we can utilize memory and imagination, appealing to such records as have been kept along the way. This part of the task is one for the historian, which is why I venture to speak.

Return to the Starting Point: Ideals Marked "Liberty"

Let us return first, not to the place where we went astray, but to the point from which we started. The historical course of America was plotted from that point of the compass of our ideals marked Liberty. Our disorientation can only mean that we have wandered, or been led, off this course. The writings of the Founding Fathers are replete with references to liberty as the goal. George Washington did not expect to be gainsaid when he said, in his Farewell Address, "Interwoven as is the love of liberty, with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment."

All of the major documents of our Revolutionary and early Constitutional era are premised on this attachment to liberty. Nor would anyone have thought it pos-

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sible at that time to found a government which would preserve liberty if a time should come when Americans should cease to venerate it.

Our quest for foundations, then, will begin and end with an exploration of the foundations of American liberty.

The three basic foundations of our liberty are: (1) beliefs which support it, (2) institutions which protect it, and (3) personal independence without which it is meaningless and impossible.

Let us turn first to the beliefs which support liberty. Liberty is *not* an end in and of itself. It is not even an ideal in the Platonic sense; that is, it does not rank with Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and Justice. Rather, liberty is a condition, a means to greater ends, not less but more important for that very reason. Choice is possible among many goals and the several ideals when there is liberty, but without liberty there is no choice. Liberty is the gateway through which choice is made possible; it is the keystone of the arch of individual fulfillment and social progress.

Those men who conceived and founded these United States must have known something of the deep underlying significance of liberty, but they rarely, if ever, expounded upon it. Much of the thought of the eighteenth century (that thought which informed our institutions and practices) was superficial, but it rested upon a profound legacy of traditions and beliefs. The Founding Fathers were men of affairs, not philosophers, and they did not customarily expose the deep roots of their beliefs. Indeed, they felt no need to do so, for they supposed their beliefs to be deeply rooted and secure.

The Need to Learn Again

We are not so happily situated in our times. For us it is necessary to learn again the deep meanings of things which, because they lay beneath the surface of things, have been forgotten. The reverence for liberty can only be reawakened by re-establishing its connection with a reality which gives it vitality.

Liberty was once believed to be a God-given condition. The respect for and observance of it had the force of divine imperative. Thinkers of the eighteenth century conceived the matter in this way. God created the universe and all the natural things that are in it. In so doing, he provided natural conditions of liberty, thus implicitly setting his seal upon liberty as the proper condition for man.

There are no restraints, only punishments, built into the natural scheme. Thus man is at liberty to

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jump from a high cliff; but if he does so in violation of natural law, he will likely be punished with a broken neck. Man, in nature, is free, for the simple reason that he is not restrained. This is the liberty with which man is endowed by the "Nature and Nature's God" to which Jefferson refers in the Declaration of Independence.

Liberty, then, is a natural right based on a condition prior to man. Restraints are tyrannical efforts of man to meddle with the natural (divine) order. Tyranny is a violation of ultimate law; to acquiesce in it is tacitly to participate in the abrogation of divine law.

Open-Ended Liberty

Quite properly, the Founding Fathers did *not* spell out the specific ends for which liberty exists. They did set forth in the Preamble to the Constitution the purposes for founding a government, but they did not presume to announce the purpose of life for individuals within it or the goals of the society itself. Had they done so, they would have been setting the stage for some new tyranny which could bend men toward that end. Governments can act only by coercion, whether it be the coercion of the mind by propaganda or the coercion of the body by force. When government acts to realize an ideology – any ideology – it must become totalitarian. It is one thing to have a system of ideas (an ideology, if that hateful word must be used); it is quite another to prescribe that system of ideas for everyone in the society by law.

There is a vast difference between the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution. The Declaration has an explicit ideology while the Constitution has none. The first is a revolutionary document, drawn and used primarily for purposes of propaganda. The second is a carefully drawn instrument to provide for the governance of a people. The Declaration is not now, never was, and never should become a part of the law of this land. Everyone should be free to accept its basic premises, as I do, but no one should be compelled to believe anything. The men who founded this country believed that free men should be entrusted with the task of providing for their needs, defining their purposes, and devising means to their ends.

Many, perhaps most, Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed that the ultimate aim of life is the eternal salvation of the soul. These United States were founded on the premise that salvation is primarily an individual rather than a social matter. It is individual in that only individual souls survive in

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eternity, not groups, nor collectives, nor states. It is a spiritual condition, and lies beyond the power of the state to grant, withhold, compel, or require. The most that the state can do is to acknowledge that liberty within which each man may use his varied talents, make his own momentous choices, give voice to his particular insights into truth, obey those divine imperatives which fall to his lot, and develop such potentialities as are latent within him.

So far as earthly social goals were concerned, our political progenitors believed implicitly that the general welfare would be advanced in conditions of greatest liberty for all. If it were not, each individual would have himself primarily to blame. The term general welfare has now been subverted to the ends of welfare statists who have given it the utilitarian connotation of the greatest good for the greatest number. Yet it would have been inconsistent with the government which they actually created if the Founders had used general welfare in this sense in either the Preamble or elsewhere in the Constitution.

The greatest good for the greatest number envisions government action for interest groups. Yet it is likely that general welfare was conceived individually, not collectively, by most men who sat in the Constitutional Convention. And it is possible to conceive of action for the general welfare that is in the interest of each and every individual. For example, it is in the interest of everyone that a murderer be apprehended and restrained. In the interest of the murderer, too? Yes, for if he cannot control himself, he needs to be controlled by others. If he can but will not control himself, *he* needs to be punished. It is the character of a right action that it is good for those disadvantaged as well as those advantaged by it. It is in the nature of things, too, that if a government is to act only in the interest of everyone, it will be limited in those actions it can take. This is precisely the position of the Founding Fathers.

Social Progress, a By-Product

Liberty was conceived to be not only individually but also socially beneficent. Social progress is never the justification of liberty (a false trail which some thinkers have taken), but it can be and is a valuable by-product. Free men will rise or fall on their own merits, prosper or fail as they exert themselves, and give or take as they have wisely used their resources. Free men pay a price for their freedom. They are responsible for their own well-being.

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This is true because freedom and responsibility are opposite sides of the same coin. Diminish one by a whit and you reduce the other in the same measure. Thus, when men are free, there are powerful incentives to build, create, and invent things that they can sell to or exchange with other men. Progress, then, is an almost inevitable result of leaving men to their own devices in attracting consumers for their products and thus providing for their own needs.

Underlying Premises

Liberty is intellectually unsupportable without certain other beliefs. It is premised on freedom of the mind and will. Freedom of the mind means that the mind can reason out conclusions, can uncompulsively examine evidence, can choose among ideas the one that is truest or best supported by evidence. Freedom of the will means the possibility of making uncompelled choices and translating these into corresponding actions.

If man is not free in these senses, he is not responsible for his actions. If he is not responsible for his actions, liberty is an unconscionable burden to impose upon man and an unworkable arrangement for society. Liberty is practicable only if men can be held accountable for the harm that they do to others. Otherwise, they would have to be constrained from committing their acts, which would mean in effect that there could be no liberty. Moreover, if men are not *primarily* responsible for their conditions, then inequalities cannot be squared with our fundamental sense of justice.

Our forefathers had yet another belief which mightily buttressed individual liberty. They believed that man is distinctly a rational being, that he is capable of subordinating his passions to logic and submitting to it as arbiter. Reason was believed to be both the means by which man came to an understanding of his world and the primary protection individuals have against the aggression of others upon their rights. The individual is powerless against combinations of men if might rules in the world.

The Rule of Reason

But our ancestors believed that reason, not might, should hold sway in the common affairs of men. As Jefferson put it in his First Inaugural Address, "All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable. . . ." Reason, if men will submit to it, is a lever by which the individual can move groups and states to observe his

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rights and yield to something beyond either one or many. For note that reason is higher authority, man-possessed but not man-made. Our Republic was contrived in this world, but its foundations lay in one beyond.

The above, then, are the intellectual foundations of American liberty: natural law, freedom of the mind and will, individual responsibility, and rationalism. These in turn were given evocative power by the belief that there is a God who imbedded his immutable laws in the visible universe, that the individual has a worth not measurable in human terms, that each individual's good is inseparable from the general welfare, and that liberty is priceless for the individual and socially beneficial.

Institutional Protections

The institutional protections of our liberties were laid down in the early years of the Republic. The individual was protected from his government by enumerations of powers granted and prohibitions aimed at preventing governments from exercising certain forbidden powers. The agents of the government were limited in their exercise of power by the separation of powers.

The populace at large was inhibited from taking precipitate actions by the representative principle and by the differing terms of office of those elected. The populace was further limited by making the judiciary – the final protectors of individual liberty – appointive rather than elective. The federal system of government – a system in which powers are divided between the central and local governments – was conceived as a further protection of liberty.

Many of the protections of individual liberty were not new to the United States; they were preserved and continued. Such were the right to a writ of habeas corpus, the requirement that a man be deprived of his life or liberty only by due process of law, and the right to own and use property. New protections were set forth as well, however: the constitutional prohibitions against bills of attainder and ex post facto laws, the state disestablishment of churches, the abolition of primogeniture and entail.

Personal independence was forwarded by American conditions and practices. Those virtues by which a man might become independent were much admired, i. e., thrift, prudence, hard work, frugality, and careful husbandry. It was once considered better to do without than to go into debt, and it is ever so that indebtedness in-

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creases dependence. The phrase that a male is "a man of his own" may now only evoke memories among older Americans, but it once meant that he had reached the age of twenty-one, was at liberty to seek his own well-being, and was *responsible* for providing for his needs. The family, at its best, encouraged personal independence by maintaining authority over those who forsook independence for its shelter. You could have independence or security, but not both. The community at large venerated self-reliance, individual initiative, personal independence, and individual achievement.

These were the primary foundations of American liberty. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Individualism

THE FIRST QUESTION asked is, "What! Would you allow a thoughtless collier to light his pipe in the workings?" or, "Would you let the railway companies charge what they like?" or, "Would you have all the land thrown out of cultivation?" or, "Would you have all the crops devoured by vermin?" or something equally irrelevant.

Now the answer to all these and similar questions is, that it is not the expediency or appropriateness of this or that regulation with which individualism concerns itself. It may be an excellent provision that passenger trains should not run at more than sixty miles an hour, or it may not; if it is, let the companies make such a rule, or let the public refrain from traveling by lines which have no such rule; but let not Parliament interfere in the matter.

Again, as to the naked lights in a coalpit, is it really believed that colliers are so absurdly reckless of their own lives as to imperil them for the sake of a whiff of tobacco? And even granting that there are a few such dangerous lunatics in the pits, as out of them, is the mineowner so anxious himself for a meeting with his creditors as to allow such doings if they can possibly be prevented? The plain fact is, apart from theory, that before the passing of any Acts relating to mines, the most stringent regulations were in force concerning the use of lights and lamps in the workings rules not so much imposed by the masters, as agreed to alike by owners, managers, and men, for the common safety.

It is the ability to make such rules, to obey them, and to enforce them, which makes the Anglo-Saxon race what it is – a colonizing people, a people fit for self-government. And it is the weakening and supplanting of these contractual rules by rules emanating from a central legislature which will some day, if persisted in, reduce the Englishman to the level of his continental neighbors.

It is not from any horror of law and order, of method and regulation in all things, that individualism is opposed to state interference; on the contrary, it is rather the reverse; it is because it attaches so high a value to these things, and because it fears to see the habits of self-rule crushed out by the enervating effects of grandmotherly government.

WADSWORTH DONISTHORPE, *Individualism, A System of Politics* (1889)

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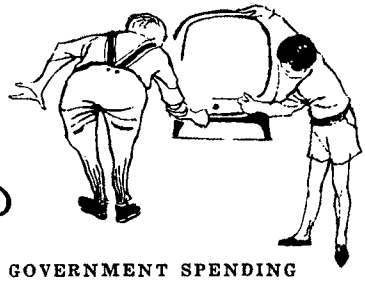


THE PRICE OF FOOD

or—THE MAGIC TOUCH OF GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Old Kaspar pulled the window shades
Against the sunset glare
And pondered on the many times
He'd found his cupboard bare,
While Peterkin and Wilhelmine
Looked at the propaganda screen.

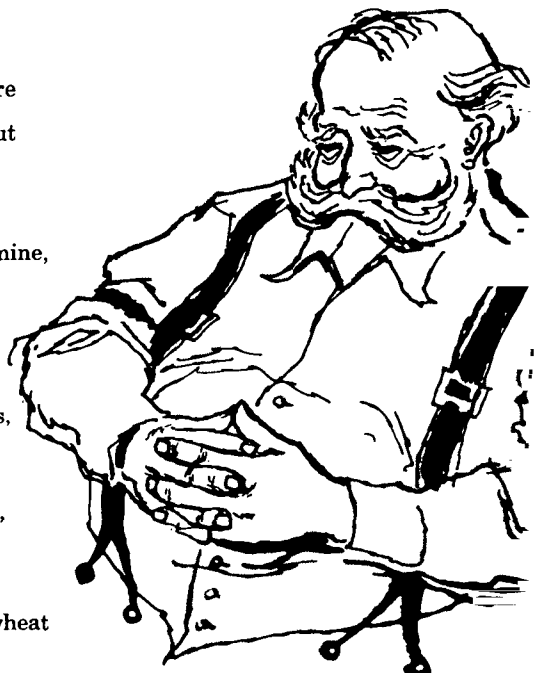
They saw the speaker standing there
Behind the *microphones*
And heard his voice come rolling out
In hortatory tones,
All studded with affirmatives
And garnished with superlatives.

"What lovely words," cried Wilhelmine,
"I wonder what they say!"
"He is explaining," Kaspar sighed,
"Why food is cheap today,
While all the other things we buy
Have prices reaching for the sky."

"The basic cause, the speaker says,
For prices growing high
Is *private* dollars chasing goods
That people want to buy;
While *public* dollars in the chase
Make prices wilt like watered lace."

"Are public dollars chasing food?"
Asked little Peterkin.
"He says they're chasing crops of wheat
And all its kith and kin.
That's how we get the huge supply
That cheapens all the food we buy."

"Then tell us where does Uncle Sam
Get dollars for the chase?"
"He catches food consumers, Pete,
At home or market place
And helps himself to dollar bills
He finds in private pokes or tills."



H. P. B. JENKINS
Economist, Fayetteville, Arkansas

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Why Is Paternalism WRONG?

PATERNALISM: "A relation between the governed and the government . . . involving care and control suggestive of those followed by a father."

LEONARD E. READ

FEW QUESTIONS are as simple to ask or as difficult to answer as the query, "Why is anything wrong?" Such a question – even though it may not reach the verbal level – is being asked by more and more people.

Why is it difficult to find answers in the realm of ethics? Perhaps it is because of a general lack of really searching reflection and thought in this area. Mostly, throughout recorded history, there has been little call upon reason to figure out answers to questions about right or wrong; responses have been handed down to us "tailor-made." The great moral codes of history have been in substantial agreement as to what is commanded and what proscribed. Without much explanation of why an act is wrong, these codes have merely decreed: "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," and so on. As long as we believed in the infallibility of the source or author of the code, there was little occasion to challenge it. If we took the decrees at face value, we never had to reason why.

Now, however, many people no longer take the Commandments for granted. Increasingly, they ask, "*Why* is it wrong to steal?" "*Why* it is wrong to lie?" This is not necessarily a bad omen. It may be simply a new requirement of the Cosmic Scheme: another step in the bringing up or maturing of rational human beings. One may find in this novel ethical situation the suggestion that we either find these answers for ourselves or be-

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come castoffs in the evolution of humanity. When evil forces are on the rampage, as they now are, we need to know *why* they are evil in order to avert them, lest they continue to engulf and destroy us.

"Thou Shalt Not Steal"

A comment or two on theft may be a useful introduction to the much more difficult question of our title, "Why is paternalism wrong?"

"Thou shalt not steal" presupposes the institution of private property. There would be no conception of theft unless there were, first, ideas about what is mine and what is thine. Stealing is the taking of the property of another without his consent.

Theft has been described as the first labor-saving device. And, if we are not careful, it may be the last; for theft is becoming universal. Not person-from-person thievery – that is only minor – but politically organized thievery on the grand scale: Socialism is founded on the taking of the property of some without their consent for the alleged benefit of others, and Americans are increasingly condoning or even supporting socialism in one or more of its numerous forms. True, most governmental taking of property without consent is legalized, but legality is not the same as morality. Legalization of theft simply nullifies the legalized penalties against theft.

This popular penchant for taking property without consent is reason enough for asking, "Why is it wrong to steal?" Numerous clergymen even – supposedly the custodians of the Commandments – are demanding that the fruits of the labor of some be forcibly taken for the benefit of others. No wonder the Bible's admonition is now in question!

Why Killing Is Wrong

If stealing is too popular, too much the current practice to stimulate deep thought, too high in emotional content to allow sober reflection, let us examine the related question, "Why is it wrong to kill?" Nearly everyone will agree that it is wrong for one person to kill another person, but there are fewer who will question the morality of many persons killing many persons, as in war. So, even the answer to this question is not cut and dried. Not knowing *why* it is wrong to kill, many persons think that killing is right if done legally on a large enough scale. *Why* is killing an evil act?

At the outset, let us explore one blind alley. Make the assumption that the rightness or wrongness of killing rests exclusively on subjec-

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tive judgments because nothing relevant to ethical acts exists beyond the mind of man. Assume that questions of morality are not matters for objective determination, that each person is a law unto himself. If this is the case, any serious ethical inquiry would be so much idle nonsense. No reasoning would be involved, nothing more than asking people how they happen to feel about stealing, say, or killing. With the poll concluded, there would be X number of affirmatives and Y number of negatives.

Working from the assumption that there is no creative power beyond the mind of man, no moral question is posed; indeed, nothing more than, "What, please, is your personal opinion?" Thus, killing would be regarded favorably or unfavorably as any individual might personally decide; and, should he change his mind on the matter, killing would be an approved act one day and a disapproved act the next. This type of consideration is below the level of moral determination, just as is any action based on an opinion poll.

Parenthetically, some utilitarian theorists reject murder, theft, paternalism, and the like on the ground that these behaviors do not pay. While any person, graced with a degree of rationality, would agree that killing is not a workable maxim, nonetheless, workability is no more in the moral realm than are opinion polls. Utilitarian economists concede this, claiming that it is not within the scope of their discipline to investigate the morality of any given act. Does it or does it not work? This is all they presume to investigate. Thus, killing and other acts of depredation are only amoral matters to these people in their role as economists. While workability is not to be taken lightly, it lacks the significance of deeply built-in moral convictions.

A Judgment Higher than Man's

Very well. If morality is not determinable by subjective judgments, if an objective point of reference is a prime requirement for finding out *why* an action is right or wrong, where shall we look for our supreme norm, our fundamental objective? It is perfectly obvious, once subjective judgments are regarded as inadequate, that our standard must be an objective over and beyond the human cortex. If the *morality* of killing or stealing or paternalism is to be examined, the search must be conducted at this high level.

Anthropomorphism — the belief in a man-like deity of some otherworldly form — is less and less subscribed to, and there are sharp

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and often bitter disagreements among the adherents of doctrinaire religious faiths. Nonetheless, there have been throughout the ages, as well as now, millions of individuals who are, from their own observations and distinctly personal experiences, aware of an Intelligence, an Architect, a Creator, an Infinite Consciousness – call this what you will. Man did not create himself. This is self-evident, for man knows next to nothing about himself. There is a Supreme Reality – God – that man can never comprehend but can, nonetheless, become aware of. Man can no more comprehend God than he can comprehend infinite space or time, for example. Yet, man can become aware of infinite space or time by observing that he cannot comprehend finite space or time – a point in space or time beyond which there is no space or time.

The expression, Infinite Consciousness, brings the idea of the Supreme Reality into focus as nearly as any term I have come upon. True, this is incomprehensible. Yet, an awareness of Infinite Consciousness can be gained by merely trying to imagine a point in consciousness beyond which there could be no more consciousness.

The individual human consciousness is expansible. This fact must stand on its own manifestation; it is not rationally demonstrable to any human being who has not had an immediate experience of it, any more than the color red is logically demonstrable to a color-blind person or the sound of middle C to a deaf mute. Try to suggest anything in earthly life or in the process of emergence or evolution higher than an aspiration directed toward the expansion of consciousness, awareness, perceptivity, insight, inspiration, cognition, cerebral hatching. Isn't this the highest goal we can conceive for our lives?

The Hope of Creation

We may then rationally conclude from these observations that man's highest earthly purpose is to expand his own individual consciousness into as near a harmony with Infinite Consciousness as possible. It is to this Supreme Reality that his first allegiance is owed. All else must be relegated to the realm of means or series of approximations to this supreme end. Man is at once the offspring and the hope of Creation. To the extent that man succeeds in a realization of those creative potentialities peculiar to his own personality, to that extent does he share in Creation – infinitessimal though any individual share may be.

Here is an Object that caps all subjective judgments. Anything

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less than a transcendent Object in this spiritual dimension makes nonsense of attempts to explain *why* any particular human action is right or wrong. But once we have discovered our object in this highest hierarchy of spiritual values, the analysis of *why* comes clear and easy.

That which is ultimately right and true for man is that which is in harmony with Infinite Consciousness. Any action or thought of man conducive to the perfection or completion of the Creator-individual order must be construed as right, and such construction is a moral or ethical judgment. It is necessary, however, to emphasize that man's tie-in with Infinite Consciousness or the Creator is a strictly personal, individual relationship; human consciousness is exclusively an individualistic phenomenon; sects, races, families, committees, nations, collectives of any sort cannot qualify as conscious entities. There is no social mind.

When Man Interferes

What, then, must be construed as wrong? Can it be other than man-concocted interferences or obfuscations or deterrents which impair an individual's freedom to realize, as he chooses and as his abilities permit, his own creative potentialities; actions which circumvent the harmonization of his own consciousness with that of Infinite Consciousness? Any act or deed or thought which injures or impairs or darkens or breaks this sacred circuit is, by these definitions, evil or wrong!

For one person to take the life of another is to sever the sacred circuit. Thus, murder must be wrong.[1]

What about theft? Why is the Commandment correct in decreeing, "Thou shalt not steal?" Livelihood is but the extension of life. Without the former the latter is impossible. The taking of livelihood in the absence of consent encroaches upon a man's life; and complete deprivation takes his life. To legalize the act does not alter its immorality one whit, any more than the legalization of murder would make it moral!

Now, why is paternalism wrong? Paternalism, by definition, presumes a transfer of responsibility. Instead of each individual being responsible for himself, it posits the proposition that the government is responsible for him —

[1] It is not murder, administered by Nature, if one jumps off the Empire State Building or if one drinks a cup of hemlock. This is suicide. Nor is it murder if the initiator of violence loses his life by another's defensive action. He initiates the action which causes his death. The aggressor is the author of the action that destroys him. Thus, in effect, he commits suicide.

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responsible for his wage, his hours or labor, the quantity of his production, the prices he may receive, what and with whom he may exchange, his health, his old age, on and on; responsible, in short, for his security, welfare, and prosperity.

We are not here concerned with the workability or the utility of paternalism. Economists can demonstrate that it hasn't a leg to stand on; there is no aspect of paternalism that has not been intellectually demolished. No, we are not concerned with the question, "Does paternalism work?" We are searching only for an answer to the question, "Is it right or is it wrong?"

Responsibility May Not Be Delegated

In the first place, paternalism is a misrepresentation of fact. According to the way things are, responsibility for self is as nontransferable as is breathing or believing or willing or intuiting or worshiping. And no collective, be it a government, a union, or a private welfare agency, can any more assume the responsibility for a person than can a committee of baboons.

What can, and too often does, happen is this: A person, if naive enough, can be sold the notion that some person or collective or government can accept and discharge the responsibilities that are solely his own. Acting on this false premise, the individual flicks his own switch to "off"; he, in his ignorance, breaks the sacred circuit himself; he, alone in charge of his own emergence, drops attention to self, thereby leaving his destiny unattended and committing himself to no higher aim and purpose than mere animal existence. Recalling our life object as being the harmonization of the individual consciousness with Infinite Consciousness, paternalism, as a concept, can be seen to be as destructive of the purpose of life as killing. Paternalism must, therefore, qualify as evil – wrong!

We must assume that life is a gift of the Creator, for man cannot create life. Man, it is believed, is the highest form of earthly life because he is endowed with faculties that are not common to other forms of life: the potential power to think, to choose, to will, to remember, to intuit, to believe, to gain in consciousness. These marvelous faculties are always personal endowments; they are individualistically dispensed, and in no other manner. They cannot be given to another for management or development or growth. Each man is individually responsible to the Endower of his faculties for the realization of their potentialities. In the nature of the case no

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other human being can do this for him.

There is evidence aplenty that conscious effort and continued exercise of these faculties will result in their growth and that disuse will bring about a decline or atrophy. For an individual to accept the false notion of paternalism is for him to accept the fatal – yes, fatal – error of disuse. "Use or lose," is a basic law of life. If we embrace Infinite Consciousness as our prime object or premise, we cannot help but conclude that paternalism breaks the life circuit.

The evil of paternalism is two-sided. On the one hand is the passion to play pater to people, this having motivations that range from imposing one's own brand of good on others, to an overeagerness to be charitable, to the gaining of prestige and power – as is often the case with political welfarists. On the other hand is the ignorance which permits one to be "patered" to. Here the motivations range from the desire for ease to the dread of overcoming obstacles – few persons realizing that the art of becoming is composed of acts of overcoming.[2] Many people will try to satisfy their physical desires along the lines of least possible resistance, regardless of how unethical the lines may be, because they have failed to cultivate any moral and spiritual aspirations.

A Feeling of Virtue

How account for the aggressive do-gooder? This is such a common trait that there must be many influences some of which, no doubt, lie too deep to be observed. One obvious influence, however, is the vicarious sense of virtue many folks experience when they "aid" their brother, even though the aid be premature. Another, observed among many politicians, is the personal power such a role confers on them. But neither of these influences rises above a low form of selfishness; they do not even qualify as intelligent self-interest.

More important than the above influences, at least among individuals of high moral and ethical aspirations, are two Biblical injunctions. The first has to do with the response to Cain's question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The question is not answered in Genesis, nor is it answered directly anywhere else in the Bible. The Bible does deal with this question, however, and the Mosaic answer is affirmative. But it does not mean "keeping" a brother in

[2] ". . . the slaves of antiquity did not belong to themselves. But they knew that freedom which consists in not *feeling* responsible." (Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus*, p. 59.)

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the custodial sense! The real answer to Cain's question is to be found in Exodus 20:6, where the Lord says: ". . . *keep my commandments.*" There is no hint here of being an aggressive do-gooder. Rather, the idea is that all men fare best if each of us refrains from killing, stealing, coveting, in short, if each of us keeps off the backs of others. Give our brothers their freedom to act as self-responsible, self-controlling individuals – and do not interfere! They, then, may do as well as we.

Alcoholics Anonymous has a profound rule which is, in effect, to attempt no rescue until the victim calls for help. Premature efforts only postpone the moment of salvation. The temptation of well-intentioned people to jump the gun on this is enormous. Doing good is no easier than creating beauty. "Good is a product of the ethical and spiritual artistry of individuals," wrote Aldous Huxley. "It cannot be mass-produced."

Growth Requires Exercise

And thus it is with other types of distress. Very often it takes a lot of agony before the marvelous self-preservative faculties of a person will begin to operate. Human faculties, when unexercised, are weak and flaccid, but sooner or later, in most cases, they will activate if the stimulus be great enough. It is the development of these faculties – they are spiritual – that transcends in importance all other aspects of life, for is this not the supreme reason for man's earthly existence? True, the person in distress may prefer succor to the awful pain of getting his creaky apparatus in motion, and the temptation to extend premature succor is nigh on to irresistible. It may take more strength of character not to give prematurely – particularly of someone else's substance as in socialism – than it takes not to accept until one's last resource is exhausted.

Knowing when to go to the rescue – being charitable – may well be a higher calling than most well-intentioned people conceive it to be. If one should not go to another's rescue until he is at the end of his rope, how is one to tell when that condition exists? Well, not many of us can tell, but here is where proficiency comes in: When a distressed individual is at the end of his rope, when he has exhausted his last resource, he will – be he atheistic, agnostic, or whatever – cry out for help, perhaps silently or in a symbolic way. This cry is a prayer. We don't know how it works, but let us say it bounces off The Infinite and is relayed to some nearby, sensitive and spiritually attuned individual who then comes to the rescue.

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This spiritual attunement is the real effort on the part of any person who would achieve the distinction of being truly charitable. To "help" before the call is only to destroy the possible development or emergence or growth of a human soul. Regardless of how well-intentioned such proffered assistance may be, it is evil, not virtue.

"Love Thy Neighbor"

A Biblical injunction which, when misread, may be the source of paternalistic mischief is, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." What is meant by love? The Greeks had at least three words for it.[3] We have a dozen meanings for love, not one of which may be what was intended by Biblical writers. At least, there is a line of reasoning which suggests that the popular interpretation might be improved.

About the highest definition of love in common use is that which makes it synonymous with deep affection. Defined in this manner, the Biblical injunction would read, "Have as deep an affection for your neighbor as you have for yourself." Could not some meaning more profound than this have been meant? The recital of a personal experience may convey what I believe to be the deeper meaning of love.

Some years ago, five of us as a seminar team arrived at a YMCA camp of a Midwestern city. At dinner one of the hosts remarked, "Since knowing you, I have a whole new set of friends." Inquiry revealed what he meant: Before he became interested in the study of freedom, his friends were "the smart set"; now he associated with those sharing his new interest. He had taken up with an entirely different type of person.

As moderator of the seminar, I designated the topic for the evening's discussion and, because of its nature, the term, "the philosophy of love" was used repeatedly by the participants. The session recessed at midnight.

On retiring, two thoughts were much in mind, (1) "I have a whole new set of friends," and (2) "the philosophy of love." These two are related, thought I, as I fell asleep.

On awakening the next morning, the first question that came to mind was, "For whom, among all of the people I know, have I the greatest affection?" A hasty review disclosed that they were those who were giving me light or, conversely, those few who found it advantageous to draw on me for light. They were my teachers and my students, those individuals associated with me in a small but, nonetheless our own, emerging circuit — the enlightenment circuit, so to speak.

[3] Eros, Agape, and Philia.

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Thus the conclusion: Love, in its highest form, *is a process*, synonymous with the giving of light or, put another way, Love is Light. Affection, esteem, friendship of the finest type is a consequence, a reward. Daily experiences confirm that affection or adoration grows between those who assist each other in enlightenment or in expanding each other's consciousness.

With the above as background, the Biblical injunction, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," reads, "Give enlightenment to those within your orbit as you would be enlightened." Love and affection are not synonymous but, instead, are cause and effect.

To sum up: the paternalistic pattern is distinguished by three archetypes, these being its entire composition:

1. Those from whom livelihood is coercively taken. Taking property without consent is theft. The victims are done a wrong.

2. Those to whom the fruit of the labor of others is given. Ill-gotten fruits never benefit anyone. Further, premature giving is destructive of life's purpose, and is wrong. A political apparatus is incapable of rendering charity, for a collective has no means of attunement to a spiritual order.

3. Those authoritarians who do the taking and the giving. Playing God is the original sin.

Paternalism is not only unworkable in a strictly utilitarian sense, as any skilled economist can easily prove, but it is wrong in a moral and spiritual sense. Why, then, should any rational person ever have anything to do with the welfare state? ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Issues of Politics

MY AFFECTIONS center round the little, near things; bacon, eggs, pipes and pubs and gardens and kisses and the morning paper — and trees and flowers in a bowl and going for walks in the rain. So, I think, do most men's and nearly all women's.

I believe that out of the little things the big things come. I have never understood why the issues of politics turn so rarely upon the little things that touch men's hearts.

C. E. M. JOAD, *Opinions* (London: Westhouse, 1945). Author's Preface.

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One of the not-so-long-run consequences of inflation. . . .

The Walk-Aways

WILLIAM H. WYMAN

OUR VANISHING GOLD, and the toughening of competition in world markets long treated as their private preserve by American exporters, are among the international consequences of inflationary policies here at home. Thus does the world economy censure and eventually apply brakes to the profligate spending and loose fiscal and monetary policies of any "welfare state."

The real estate business in the United States illustrates the dangers of reliance on continuing doses of inflation. Now we begin to see the foolishness of governmental policy as reflected in Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration financing regulations based on "nothing down and 35 years to pay." The result is showing up across the land in the person of the "walk-away." The walk-away is commonly the FHA or VA mortgagor who, with the advent of a reasonably stable dollar, discovers that the mortgage he owes on the home he "owns" is larger than its present market value; so, he abandons it – just walks away!

Let's trace a hypothetical Joe Citizen into this increasingly common situation. Two years ago Joe and his wife bought a "project" home. It probably was in Florida, California, or Texas, where both the building boom and the financing liberalities have been most accentuated. Joe paid nothing down and his monthly payments were proposed to amortize the mortgage in 30 years. The price? That didn't really concern Joe, so it needn't concern us. He and his wife liked the place better than any other they'd seen. The salesman had checked the regulations and said Joe's earnings justified the monthly payment. Joe and his wife agreed that it was ridiculous to pay rent, even though his

Mr. Wyman is a member of the bar, but is occupied primarily as President of Wyman Associates, Inc., realtors and insurors, of Painesville, Ohio.

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job was uncertain and he might wish to move before long. Besides, the rent asked for anything comparable was as much or more than the monthly payment would be.

Let us recall that the Federal Housing Administration was introduced in the depression-deep 1930's as a pump-priming device to encourage building and heavy industry and jobs. FHA was a guarantee to banks and other mortgage lenders, enabling them – if they followed prescribed rules – to make longer and more liberal loans on residential reality. They were to collect a prescribed interest rate, one-half of one per cent of which would create a sinking fund from which reimbursement would be made if a borrower's default resulted in a loss to the lender. The scheme appeared to work, though other methods involving less federal intervention might have been equally effective. At least, most persons in the real estate business thought it to be wise legislation. It wasn't an obvious subsidy, and it more than paid its own way. It up-graded architectural and construction standards by demanding certain minimums for loan approval.

The FHA administered reserve created by the .5 per cent has accumulated through the years and even brought talk of reducing the rate. That the reduction hasn't occurred may be for the best, since those reserves seem destined for large caliber tapping in the near future! The reason, of course, is walk-away Joe Citizen.

Will Joe actually disregard his solemn contract to pay? Will he be that unconcerned about his moral obligation, to say nothing of the legal one? What do you think?

In my own office not long ago we discovered we'd sold a house to a salaried man who had been twice through bankruptcy. The second time was only recently, but as promptly after the first (7 years, I believe) as the law allows. The lending institution discovered this fact from a credit report; nevertheless, it approved the loan application. This was not the case of a business bankruptcy. This was an improvident person who either couldn't figure or didn't care that his income was unequal to the installment payments incautious merchants permitted him to assume. It is quite true that he couldn't have gotten in this predicament without the cooperation of a multitude of shortsighted credit-extenders. And for these we need have little sympathy.

The point here is that in the home market Congress has progressively created from an originally single-purpose act of legislation a multi-faceted, cross-pur-

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poseful, contradictory catchall of muddled, meddlesome regulations which President Kennedy would like to further dignify with departmental and cabinet status. Where did we go wrong? Within five years of FHA's creation we were tooling for war; instead of wanting to stimulate the housing industry, top policy was to discourage the use of either manpower or material for such purpose. But Congress topped FHA with the so-called GI Bill which granted extraordinary financing privileges to veterans. The FHA and VA combined to stimulate feverish activity in the residential housing field. With an artificially created demand greatly exceeding the available supply, home prices raced ahead of the expectations of both veterans and civilians.

Blooming Bureaucracy

Meanwhile, the originally benign bureaucracy of FHA had multiplied and complicated itself in the traditional way of all government agencies. Successive Presidents demanded of Congress extensions to the original undertaking so that FHA's burden now includes giant apartment projects and retirement housing developments (which builders have figured how to produce with 100 per cent finance and no immediate risk), mobile home parks, swimming pools, bomb shelters, and so on. In addition, the Department of Agriculture has a separate and equally generous program for worthy and unhoused would-be farmers.

The congressional acts creating both FHA and VA established the interest rates which might be levied by lenders under guaranteed loans. The provisions for change are so cumbersome that these rates have lagged behind the prevailing rates in the money market for years. Time and again, lenders have been unwilling to divert funds from more productive use; to the chagrin of FHA and VA functionaries, "too few" such loans have been made. The remedy has been to permit lenders to charge certain fees or work out kick-back arrangements with builders which help to bring the lender's net return in line with "free market" rates of interest. The governmental assumption is that this latter simply reduces the builder's profit and thus constitutes a deflationary influence! The fact is, however, that builders do not continue to build if they are denied a profit. No matter how they may be concealed, the costs of sale are inevitably absorbed by the buyer. The price Joe Citizen agreed to pay for his house included all those costs.

What was originally a simple

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guarantee to expedite the purchase of a home has become an intricate, exasperating, conniving "deal" which often must seem to the typical citizen a shoddy racket. Having suspected from the first that he was a pawn in a fancy bunko game between builders, brokers, bankers, and bureaucrats, is it any wonder if Joe Citizen simply vacates his bad deal with a "serves 'em right" attitude and moves on to greener fields, his trust in his fellow man tarnished by his own failure to understand what happened to him or why?

Depreciation Is a Fact

Here are the basic facts, so long concealed by years of inflation: (1) a commodity is not used without wear nor sold without depreciation, (2) equity of ownership is accumulated only if the outstanding debt is paid off more rapidly than the commodity deteriorates, and (3) thousands of homes across the nation carry mortgages greater than the present liquidation value of the property.

Many questions remain unanswered:

Have our political leaders the will or the ability to maintain a stable currency? If so, more walk-aways may be expected.

Will the FHA and VA regulations continue to demand that the injured lender pursue all legal remedies against the defaulter, such as deficiency judgments, the garnisheeing of wages, and so forth? This will be mighty unpopular!

Will our government dare permit the repossessed homes to be sold to the highest bidder in the time-honored and legally prescribed manner? This will also be unpopular, especially as it begins to throw a spotlight on the difference between the sale of real estate and the sale of "easy terms." And in that event, there may be demands from building organizations that the homes be withheld from the market – stockpiled!

The fact is that excess stimulation and other government intervention has caused a surplus of housing in many areas. A free market would absorb this over a period of time in its ruthless but healthy fashion. Unless government is restrained by responsible citizens – hauled back to its proper and limited function of keeping the peace so that a free market may function to regulate building, finance, and other business affairs – then ours may become just another lost civilization comprised of irresponsible walk-aways. ◈

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STATISM and the Free Market

SUDHA R. SHENOY

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS loom large in the minds of many people today. Scholar and man in the street alike feel themselves deeply involved in questions having to do with the production and distribution of worldly goods. But despite the intense interest in the subject, much of today's economic discussion is vitiated by a lack of regard for the fundamental criteria of the free market economy. Statism is the antithesis of the free market, but the blind spot afflicting many people is such that the effects of statism, historical and contemporary, are often debited to capitalism. This would be like blaming the evil consequences of slavery on freedom!

Thus, when American and other "liberals" (statists) criticize something labeled "free enterprise," they imagine they are criticizing the free market. But what these people consider to be the natural corollaries of the free market are not integral parts of it at all. They are distortions produced in its working by misguided interventionism – the attempts of the state to do the duty of other parts of society, while neglecting its own duties. This causes imbalances and distortions in the market, and these are usually taken by the statists to be its normal and essential features.

For optimum functioning, the market needs a suitable, politico-legal framework. It presupposes the performance of a number of essential functions by the state aimed at establishing and maintaining the Rule of Law. Unfortunately, it is impossible to take for granted that the state (i.e., the politicians and bureaucrats) will adequately perform its essential functions. More than likely, the state will neglect the duties which it alone can perform – or else give

Miss Shenoy is a student of St. Xavier's College (Gujarat University), Ahmedabad, India.

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them stepmotherly treatment – while attempting to do things beyond its scope.

The resulting distortions in the market will be pounced upon by the statists and held up to view as the normal phenomena of the market. The politicians will then proceed further with the identical policies that caused the imbalance in the first place – or with worse policies – all to the accompaniment of humanitarian slogans, and with the encouragement of these so-called "liberals." This is a vicious circle, and the essential duties of the state will probably be forgotten or neglected.

Most people regard the USA as the examplar of the free market. This is a mistake; the USA is a prime example of the "muddled" variety of the statist economy. The communist countries represent one end of the spectrum – the totalitarian economy. Some West European countries – although still riddled with welfarism – appear to be moving toward the other end – the free market economy. Countries like the USA and India lie somewhere between the two – they are the muddled economies, combining perhaps the worst features of both systems. The statism of East Europe is called communism, the statism of India is called "the socialistic pattern of society," and the statism of the USA is called "American free enterprise."

The Failure of Planning

Statism, wherever tried, defeats its announced ends – as we may see from the example of India. While the aims of India's Five-Year Plans are laudable – to raise the standard of living of the people, develop the economy, reduce unemployment, and obtain social justice – the plans have, in fact, achieved the opposite.

Since "planning" was intensified, per capita daily food grains consumption has stagnated around 15.4 ounces (the nutritional norm is 18 ounces). Annual cloth consumption has declined from 14.63 to 14.36 meters per person. Ninety per cent of the houses in the country are one-roomed hovels, with no facilities whatsoever.

This is because under "planning," the bulk of the country's resources are forcibly drawn into the sector with the lowest returns, the public sector. This would be true of any country where "planning" is tried. About 4 per cent of India's national income is provided by employment in the public (government) sector. But government absorbed 60 per cent of total resources in the Second Plan; and the Third Plan proposes to raise this figure to about 70 per cent. Practically the entire public

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sector expenditure is on uneconomic, low-return, heavy industries and on giant river-valley projects – imitation TVA's. The high return agricultural and light industries sector provides more than 80 per cent of the national income, but under "planning," it is starved of essential capital.

The natural and inevitable result of this statist misallocation of resources is retarded economic development. An additional investment of $100 in iron and steel increases output by an estimated $14; and in textiles, by $26. The same investment in agriculture, on the other hand, would increase output by $50 to $70! In other words, statism holds down India's economic growth, to the present meager (per capita) rate of 1.6 per cent annually – in place of a much higher potential growth.

Statist planning is also responsible for India's growing unemployment. Two million dollars of investment provides jobs for only 500 persons in heavy industries; whereas the same amount would provide 1,150 jobs in consumer industries, and 4,000 jobs in agriculture.

The gap between the poor and the rich has widened in the last decade. Incomes have been transferred from the lower classes and fixed income groups, to businessmen, industrialists, and corrupt functionaries of the state. This has ensued partly through inflationary plan finance, but mainly as a result of statist "controls" (permits, licenses, quotas, concessions, and so on) which centralize economic power in the hands of officials, and create numerous monopolies or semimonopolies in the private sector. Public contracts also play a very significant role. This antisocial income-shift is estimated to be of the order of $1.6 billion a year. In short, the real beneficiaries of statism in India are unscrupulous bureaucrats, and the state-established, state-protected monopolists in the private sector.

India is thus a classic case of statist muddle, but statism is guaranteed to produce the same results wherever tried. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Scope for the Unusual

ANY HEALTHY SOCIETY must provide scope for the unusual idea, for the uncommon individual, for the man who is in some way "different." It would be a dull world in which everyone conformed to a common pattern of behavior and no one ever got out of step with his neighbors.

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OUR CHOICE

ROBERT R. MULQUEEN

RECENTLY in our neighborhood the local office of Civil Defense called a meeting and offered a film and lecture, followed by discussion, to better prepare us in case of national emergency. Ours is a large community, but only twenty-five persons attended the meeting. The CD representative noted this lack of interest in home preparedness and said that citizens in Russia and various European countries are better informed because they are required by law to take an active role in Civil Defense.

A woman in the audience thought that "in a time of emergency such as this, our government ought to *force* every adult in the community to take CD instructions *for the general good.*" (Emphasis hers.) Others supported her view. I disagreed, though I couldn't resist a certain compulsion to understand what prompted her suggestion. Of course, this has been the great debate in all societies down through the ages: whether to rely upon individual volition, or to insist on domination "for the general good."

Mr. Mulqueen, in his Junior year at a West Coast college, looks from present problems toward the future.

A Crossroads

America, and the world in general, is at a crossroads. Every major issue today seems rooted in this question of whether the individual should be dominated by experts who would plan his actions "for his own good," or should there be reserved to each individual his dual right (1) to develop his creative powers according to his own choice, and (2) to freely exchange the fruits of his labors – limited only by the extension of those same rights to his neighbors. Under the truly free system, governmental coercive power can only be used in *defense* of the rights of all human beings. It ought never to be used for the immoral plunder of one citizen (his liberty or his property) for the favor of another. The alternatives

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are volition, or domination of the individual; and we need to understand just what it means to choose one or the other.

Many people in the United States assume that every subject under a king or a dictator is necessarily unhappy with his lot. We hear of the terrible purges of all dissenters whenever such a system is imposed. Yet, the irony is that once people "get the hang" of living under a dictatorship, they may prefer it to a free system that leaves the individual responsible for his own actions and choices. I once met a young man who lived under the Nazi system in Germany, and another who lived under Italian fascism. Both believed that the totalitarian state was the only "sensible" solution to governmental and economic problems. They looked upon free societies as uncontrolled mobs of people too ignorant to manage their own affairs, suffering injustices supposedly avoided under government planning. They recalled their dictators with great affection, as the "expert captains of the team."

Authoritarians of all kinds are anarchists in the name of "law and order." Usually soured by personal failure, these selfish despots try to give their "sheep" a false sense of security by exhibiting unusual energy and giving the appearance of getting things done. Having no respect for either the liberty or the property rights of their underlings, they hold in contempt the idea of government limited to a defensive role. To maintain their power, they have to preach against freedom, and convince their subjects that the only safety in life lies in unthinking obedience to the ruler. The law, once intended to protect man, becomes the special privilege of an anarch – the dictator's tool of tyranny.

An Instrument of Justice

The problem then, if we would retain our individuality and freedom, is to use the law only as an instrument of justice among men, to confine government's coercive powers to a defensive role, leaving individuals full opportunity to develop their respective potentialities, as each may choose, under the law. This means that the law may not be used to stack the cards against one man or group in favor of another. No person should have the power to suspend "temporarily" the rights of his neighbors, even if he thinks such domination might be in their best interest. Those who would grab control in time of emergency to "protect our freedoms" have bought the Marxian myth that the dictatorship of the proletariat would wither away into a perfect, classless society. It is not so, for among *men*, none

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has the right to "play God" over his fellows.

As young people about to assume our respective roles in society, we in our nation's colleges must decide whether it is better to support some sort of "planned social team," or to be a moderate individualist – a libertarian. We must decide whether our lives would be better "planned by experts" or based on our own decisions.

Reliance on "Big Brother"

As we analyze the views of those who support big government and "social planning," we find these basic assumptions: The average man is really unable to take proper care of himself; team spirit is necessary in order that experts, the elite of totalitarianism, might have more effective control of every teammate. The failure and personal disaster they allegedly fear for others is basically their self-reluctance to face life on their own two feet. They would much rather trust in George Orwell's "Big Brother." They still want a "daddy" or a "mommy" to fall back on in the face of adversity.

The basic psychology of authoritarianism is immaturity, a lack of self-reliance and self-responsibility. Freedom requires the understanding, the will, and the courage to stand – alone if need be – with honesty and justice, behaving toward others as one would want them to behave in turn. If one's freedom of choice is the sort of security he desires, he will not find it by compelling his neighbors to attend Civil Defense meetings.

The state has no moral right to do what the individual cannot do. The individual has no moral right to use aggressive force against his neighbors. The state is not God; it derives its powers from the people who make up its citizenry. The people can't give what they haven't got. Any government action is necessarily unjust if it deviates from what is justifiable action by individuals.

Our choice, then, concerns emotional maturity. Either we want the kind of security that means dependence on "Big Brother," or we want the opportunity that encourages individual creativity. The latter affords relative success for most, excellence for some, and failure for a few. We simply cannot have both opportunity and state planned security.

Each grant of "security" by the government necessarily diminishes the opportunities available to ourselves and our children. This is our choice. Let's face it. ◈

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A cop's-eye view of New York City

JACK MORANO

AS ONE POLICEMAN to another, a New York City Housing Authority officer once told me of a standing joke in his circle. "Soon," said he, "all New York will be one big housing project, and the regular police department will become just another branch of the Housing Authority."

A joke, then, but tour New York City with me if you wish to see the inevitable results of compulsory collectivism in the United States. Here may be found, as in East Germany, proof that collectivism does not work.

Two years ago when the Tactical Patrol Force was first instituted by Police Commissioner Kennedy, its purpose was to send into the "rougher" areas a group of six-foot judo-trained cops to suppress crime. Today, as a member of "Kennedy's Commandos," I can attest that there are few neighborhoods that haven't required our services. In other words, there are few "decent" residential areas left in New York.

Neighborhoods that up to five or ten years ago were beautiful, peaceful – yes, even exclusive – have been transformed into a jungle in which people fear to walk the streets. I refer to such areas as Morningside Heights around Columbia University, the West End and Riverside Drive, and right up to the doorstep of

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Mr. Morano is a member of the Tactical Patrol Force of the New York City Police Department.

Illustration: A. Devaney, Inc., New York.

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the once swank Central Park West apartments. Indeed, I challenge anyone to name for me the "nice" neighborhoods in Manhattan – or in any of the other boroughs of New York. In the Prospect Avenue section of the Bronx, drunks, addicts, and prostitutes now slouch in entrances where uniformed doormen once stood. The beautiful Fordham Road area is starting down the same path, and its main drag has been dubbed "Terror Street" by the *New York Journal American.*

Contradictory Actions

Ironically, most of this condition results indirectly from promotion by the city planners and politicians of the very things they claim to be fighting. They clamor for "more and better trained police" to patrol a jungle of their own making. They promise to fight with their right hand what their left is doing.

The transformation of attractive neighborhoods into crime-ridden jungles is largely the result of political actions along socialistic lines. Nor can it be said that this leaning toward socialism comes unconsciously or from forgiveable mistakes.

For example, during the recent New York mayorality campaign a spokesman for Robert Wagner boasted, "There are more people in New York City living in public housing than the entire population of New Haven, Connecticut." What a thing to boast about when it can be demonstrated that public housing – apart from being morally wrong – is economically unsound! Stated simply, it just doesn't work.

Environmental Determinism

To begin with, the advocates of public housing are what psychologists call *environmental determinists:* they believe that in taking "the boy off the farm," they can successfully "take the farm out of the boy," or that building castles for beggars will emit princes. They cannot or will not see that the buildings in areas they call "slums" are for the most part structurally solid and architecturally handsome. The staid brownstone buildings containing huge studio apartments would be considered swank by more appreciative tenants. The wrong is not in the buildings – but in the people who occupy them. This may be observed firsthand by visiting any of the areas mentioned above.

As if to further guarantee that destruction by the tenants will go unrepaired, politicians raise tax assessments to punish landlords who improve or repair their properties. Pretending surprise at what they have produced, the

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"planners" set about condemning whole neighborhoods, tearing down buildings to be displaced with morbid housing projects.

A few years ago, a leading New York paper told how the newest apartment houses in New York had disintegrated into New York's newest slums. Crime that was supposed to be "born of the slums" was occurring with alarming rapidity in the new projects. The dark, empty grounds of the housing projects invite gang-fights and muggings, women are raped in the elevators, obscenities are scribbled on walls, and the corridors reek of urine. The political planners have an answer, of course: "More and better trained Housing Police" to keep the tenants from destroying that which was given to them.

The old adage, "Easy come – easy go," applies not only to a lazy playboy inheriting his father's fortune, but also to a tramp showered with taxpayers' money.

The Unseen Consequences

The humanitarian planners can see the housing projects they have built with taxpayers' money, and imagine how noble they are to have provided apartments for people who could not afford them. But what they do not see in their blindness is the *unbought* milk and children's shoes and clothing and better apartments that could otherwise have been afforded by the people from whom the taxes were taken. For every dollar's worth of "good" political planners do, there is at least a dollar's worth of harm.

The only way in which politicians can raise the level of living of those who occupy these projects is to lower the level of living of the families who are struggling to stay out of them. Any new tax burdens on such families reduce their chances of staying independent, and may thus force them into a project.

Is that what the planners want? Well, bear in mind the political power that is inherent in building projects, and remember that the numbers of people thus "aided" are now the source of arrogant boasts by politicians. Who would dare vote himself out of his own home or apartment? There are so many New Yorkers living in public housing that no New York politician dares oppose it – and hope to get elected.

If there is a salvage value in the New York situation, perhaps it is for others to observe and learn that political "gifts" are a club with which voters may be beaten into line. ◈

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E S P — THE DOWNFALL OF COMMUNISM

MARCELINE BRADFIELD

EDUCATION is frequently cited as both a preventative for and a weapon against communism. Most people in the Free World concur in this belief, nor should we dissent. Nevertheless, while the various educative media, that is, the schools, the press, other communications, and the clergy, pound away desultorily at the political, economic, and military challenges we face in combating the international communist movement, scarcely a voice is heard to denounce the ideology at its grass roots where it is weakest. Startling discoveries by Western scientists in the field of parapsychology have in recent years completely shattered the basis of communist materialism. Too long have these revelations passed almost unnoticed and unheralded in the world, particularly among the educated classes.

Contrary to popular opinion, the poverty-stricken, hungry two-thirds of the world are *not* the rabid proselytes of communism. They could not care less. Their main concern in life is survival: from where – and whether – the next meal is coming. Immersed in their own abject misery, they are swayed only by the lure of a full belly for their children and themselves – then by the hope of a better life. Promises of political freedom strike empty chords for men who know not freedom even from malnutrition and death by starvation. Democracy and communism are equally meaningless words to men like these.

Men who are enlightened and able, however, find appeal in Marxist ideology. Throughout the world dialectical materialism offers to increasing numbers of intellectuals an explanation of the

Marceline Bradfield, a Registered Nurse, housewife, mother of three children, landlady, and small investor, also has found time to pursue graduate studies in Cultural Geography at Los Angeles State College.

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nature of man which superficially rings true. Even in the West, where communism is rejected, men of learning and letters are badly divided within themselves over the basic issue with which communism began – an attempt to assess man's nature and his relation to society and the universe. This schizophrenia arises from the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of correlating religious dogma with the mechanistic interpretation of life expounded in institutions of learning.

No necessity and no intention to attack the rights of free men to choose and practice a religion are here implied. What is explicit here is the fact that millions of intellectuals the world over have become disenchanted with backward-looking religious institutions. Rational people demand rational explanations for man and his relation to the universe – not fairy-tale revelations from the past. One does not have to be an atheist to realize that most religious dogma founds itself upon a combination of fantasy and faith. Men of higher learning have been taught to demand facts and proof as the basis for their convictions. They have been taught by prevailing scientific principles that physical laws are the only natural laws. Thus, they have been compelled either to reject formal religion entirely or to live as split personalities with dual philosophies.

A further cause of the disenchantment of the intelligentsia with religious philosophy is the inescapable fact of mankind's plight of hunger and poverty. Despite thousands of years of high-sounding ideals and noble wishful thinking, religion has thus far netted very little in practical application to the alleviation of the suffering of most of its followers. The hollowness, the lack of foundation and the ritualized doctrine of religious philosophy have proved inadequate to provide even a satisfactory life, much less a richer, better one for the majority of human beings. Intellectuals, themselves often having arisen by sheer will or by fortuitous circumstance from squalor, are deeply concerned with the failures of ecclesiastical institutions. For many of them the alternative has seemed to be the pseudo-scientific materialism of Karl Marx.

About Face!

The only implication for religion here is not that the clergy should immediately give up and drop dead, but that, in order to recapture the great thinking minds of the world, the clergy must turn their heads 180° from past to future. With feet planted squarely in the present and eyes directed to

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the future, religious leaders can find factual bases in science for viable, solid, dynamic doctrines. For science and rationality are enemies not of *religion* — only of *dogmatism*. Religion's prime adversary is the philosophy of materialism. Communism has succeeded best where it has been able to supplant long-entrenched spiritual institutions dedicated to the salvation of humanity. And communism's foundation, materialism, has seemed to offer a fresher look and a brighter hope to intellectuals for the solution of humankind's dilemma than religion has offered in all of the past. Thus it happens that some American scientists, African men of letters, and Venezuelan students are taken in by Marxian materialism.

What does it matter, anyway, if a few eggheads turn to materialism and thence to communism? The intelligentsia comprise a bare minority in any nation's population.

The importance of this small percentage is that they form the *elite*. Where they lead, the rest of the people follow. A handful of Bolshevik intellectuals pirated the Russian Revolution, a minority of Chinese scholars overthrew Chiang, and a small band of Cuban students ousted Batista.

Why, therefore, should we feel that in education lies the answer to the challenge of communism? If it is the intellectuals who are responsible for accepting communism, should we not encourage *less* education rather than more?

The Idea of Materialism

The key to these questions abides in the idea of materialism. Marxian materialist philosophy maintains that people are merely a conglomeration of living material elements: everything in the universe can be explained in terms of matter in motion. Marx's atheism further asserts that human values, therefore, should center around material considerations, pleasures, and satisfactions; human history must be interpreted in terms of material elements.

Dialectical materialism was a product of the turbulent times in which Marx lived and wrote. The growth of communism was and is a direct result of the disturbing fact that the great urgent problems affecting human life have been grossly neglected.

Materialism, however, is merely an arrested phase of scientific development and thought. Even in Marx's time it was not an advanced idea, but only a rehash of the mechanistic thought of past ages. The Russian communists captured the idea, dogmatized it, and swallowed it entire. There has been and will be no progress in

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scientific thought regarding the nature of man in the U.S.S.R. since Lenin. Instead, the Soviets try to fit human beings and human conduct into their political gospel of materialism. There is even at present a concerted Machiavellian attempt through Sino-Soviet research in cybernetics to find ways and means of controlling human thought, the better to mold "good" communists in keeping with the production-line precepts of "communist man." All this because communists, for all their claims of being scientific, have failed to explore beyond the mechanistic concept of materialism.

Scientific Refutation

In many places in the Free World, on the other hand, scientists have carried inquiry into the nature of man beyond the stagnation of a physicalistic interpretation. The time has long since arrived to impugn communist materialism on the basis of the findings of these researchers. *For definite scientific evidence, obtained through carefully controlled experiment, has completely shattered the entire basis of communism's concept of man as merely dust without soul or spirit!* Experiments carried out by scientists of every continent over the past thirty to forty years have uncovered incontrovertible proof that man and the universe itself do not conform to the tenets of materialism.

In the United States the Parapsychology Laboratory of Duke University, under the direction of Dr. Joseph B. Rhine, has helped lead the way to this amazing discovery. There the phenomena of extrasensory perception (mental telepathy, clairvoyance, and precognition) and psychokinesis (mind's influence over matter) have been extensively tested by painstaking laboratory and statistical methods. While recognizing that the study itself is merely in an embryonic stage similar to that of physical science in general a century or two ago, Dr. Rhine and his colleagues throughout the Western World have already proved that ESP and PK take place normally in human beings. Telepathy, clairvoyance, precognition, and psychokinesis exist. This means that mental processes occur in man which are unexplainable by physical law. The unavoidable conclusion is that, quite contrary to the belief that *all* natural law is physical law, *some process operates in man which transcends the laws of matter, making manifest a nonphysical or spiritual law.*"[1]

This is a major break-through

[1] For a more extensive discussion of ESP and communism, the reader is referred to: Joseph B. Rhine, *New World of the Mind.* (New York: Wm. Sloane Associates, 1953), ch. 9.

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for science, as well as for religion. For science it provides a springboard not only into new concepts in mental therapy and psychological research, but into new information of the universe. It is a discovery as basic as the use of fire or the wheel, as the mastery of electricity and steam, as atomic radiation and the theory of relativity.

For religion it establishes a firm foothold at least for further factual revelations regarding the true nature of man in his universe. It promises religious pioneers a fund of new, firmly-based knowledge upon which to formulate fresh, flexible doctrines.

And, in the present crises between East and West, it is a break-through which renders thoroughly obsolete the foundations of the entire Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Challenge to Education: Bring It Up-to-Date

Here, then, is the challenge to education: Let the institutions of learning continue to teach the perils to freedom of communist totalitarianism. Let the communications industry hammer home the economic fallacies of socialism. Let the church preach again and again the idiocy inherent in the belief in the inevitable triumph of atheistic communism.

But *first*, let educators, scientists, the press, and the clergy bring education up-to-date. Let them expose to light, for all the world to see, the fact that man is more than a mobilized chemical equation. Let the common man of the world know that science has proved he has a spiritual existence. Above all, let the intellectuals of the planet in particular be informed that scientific research has shown man to be a heterogeneous system composed of a physical body *plus* an extraphysical order of processes within himself.

Then the foundations of communism will be eroded into the mere dust which they claim man to be. For how can dialectical materialism's appeal to the intellectual withstand the onslaught of *man with a spiritual nature verifiable in science?* ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Institutions

AS A SNOWDRIFT is formed where there is a lull in the wind, so, one would say, where there is a lull of truth, an institution springs up.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, *Life Without Principle*

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MONEY IS AS MONEY DOES

THERE USED to be landed proprietors. Now there are funded proprietors. And, just as the landed proprietor was regarded with ambivalent feelings (he served a function by providing a free market in real estate, he was envied by the landless), so the funded proprietor excites people to quite mixed-up responses.

There are fashionable modes in these responses, too. Three recent books about funded families – John Tebbel's *The Inheritors* (Putnam's, $5), Edwin P. Hoyt's *The Vanderbilts and Their Fortunes* (Doubleday, $4.95), and Frederic Morton's *The Rothschilds: A Family Portrait* (Atheneum, $5.95) – differ a bit from each other in their attitude toward the duties of monied people. But the latest fashion in thinking about rich families is evidently to insist that they cultivate clan sentiments.

According to these books, rich people should have a dynastic sense. They should, of course, be prepared quite cheerfully to pay their inheritance taxes if they are to satisfy the modern view. But, having done that, they should so arrange their wills that the family seat of power – a great bank, a railroad, an automobile manufacturing company – will continue to freshen the fortunes of the tribe. If the inheritance tax laws make it difficult for any particular family group to retain control of a corporation over the generations, there are ways around the difficulty. After all, one can establish a foundation which will remain suitably neutral in company matters even though it holds a good percentage of the stock.

Far be it from this reviewer to object to dynastic families. The Rothschilds, as followed through several generations by Mr. Morton, have used their power and money both wisely and well. Ditto for the Mellon, Rockefeller, Ford, and du Pont families, as chronicled by Mr. Tebbel. But if a family loses its dynastic sense, which is what happened in the case of the Vanderbilts, just why is it a

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cause for social moralizing? Mr. Hoyt evidently thinks it a shame that old Commodore Vanderbilt, who put the New York Central Railroad together, could not have found some device to entail the property to Vanderbilts in perpetuity. Well, it might have been better for the Vanderbilt name if one Vanderbilt in each generation had been drilled in the idea that it was his duty to regard the New York Central as a sort of industrial family dukedom. But insofar as the public is concerned, it would seem to be a matter of supreme indifference what name is attached to a property provided that the property is efficiently run.

Constructive Use

From the economic standpoint, the truly interesting thing about these three books is the proof they offer that money can be trusted to gravitate willy-nilly into the hands of people who are able to use it constructively. Sometimes the constructive personage will be a descendant of the original fortune maker; sometimes he will be a total stranger. The Rothschilds, who have never let their inheritance be dispersed by handing over huge chunks of income-producing property to female offspring, have done constructive investment banking in London and Paris ever since the time of the first Napoleon. The du Ponts have always bred sons and cousins who have retained an active interest in chemical engineering and in industrial management. But when the heirs of the Dodge brothers, both male and female, developed a passion for spending their inheritances far from the automobile production lines of Detroit, it did not mean that anything of importance was lost. The true Dodge "inheritor" happened to be a man named Walter Chrysler, who bought control of the Dodge Motor Company and used its manufacturing facilities just as efficiently as if he had been John or Horace Dodge's true son.

Reading about Rothschilds, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, du Ponts, Dodges, Huttons, Dukes, and other assorted rich families, it is forcibly brought home to one that "society," as represented by the state, is hardly called upon to have any official attitude toward inherited wealth. Is it a good thing that Rockefellers, Fords, and Mellons, for example, have been virtually forced by inheritance tax law to put their money into foundations instead of handing it on outright to various scions?

A Complicated Question

To answer such a question, one would have to balance the characters of separate Rockefeller,

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Ford, and Mellon children against the acumen of the administrators chosen to run the separate foundations. Naturally, no hard and fast judgment suggests itself. Rockefeller foundations have done good work in educational and medical fields. On the other hand, nobody can cavil at David Rockefeller's record in banking, or at Nelson Rockefeller's use of his money in promoting industry in Venezuela. So what if David, Nelson, and their brothers had inherited all of their grandfather's oil money outright? Inasmuch as the Rockefeller boys know how to employ their dollars in job-creating activity, the end result to society would have been good. And medicine and education would hardly have suffered by the multiplication of wages and dividends which, in turn, would have been available to pay for schooling and hospitalization.

Primogeniture and Entail

On the other hand, why are spenders so terrible, and what difference does it make if "dilution" cuts family fortunes into little pieces? About a hundred years ago the world decided that primogeniture and entail in landed estates worked a monopolistic injustice on younger sons. Wisely, the founders of the American republic let primogeniture and entail disappear from the local scene. Well, if entailing of control is bad as applied to the land, wouldn't it be just as liable to abuse if applied to other forms of productive wealth?

What if a single stupid Vanderbilt had received the bulk of the Commodore's money in the third generation, say? Vanderbilt funds happened to be diluted for the simple reason that fecundity was a natural characteristic of Vanderbilts as they produced new generations. This was quite in accordance with democratic precepts. The "diluted" money of the Vanderbilts went to pay for many things, some wise, some indifferent, and some foolish. Vanderbilts were sportsmen: they bred horses, raced automobiles, and went in for defending cups against competing British yachtsmen. All of this gave color and savor to the American scene. Willy K. Vanderbilt the Second helped Ransom Olds and Henry Ford out as pioneer automobile manufacturers by making motoring popular among those who could afford to buy the first cars. Later Vanderbilts provided Juan Terry Trippe of Pan American Airways with some of the capital needed to establish the airline business. This was constructive work. Less constructive were the Vanderbilt wives who gratified themselves by society do-

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ings which, to our generation, seem incredibly frivolous as we look back on them. But the money "wasted" went to support architects, dressmakers, cooks, and art dealers. So was it really "wasted," after all?

A Railroad that Couldn't Support a Dynasty

The New York Central passed out of Vanderbilt hands when Robert R. Young, backed by Richardson and Murchison money from Texas, took control of the railroad. Was this a good or a bad thing? Inasmuch as Harold Vanderbilt, as a director of the railroad, had helped to pick a good railroad president, William White, to run the Central, there was little justice to Mr. Young's contention that the Vanderbilts had lost their railroading touch. But when Mr. Young's own particular choice for the railroad presidency, Alfred E. Perlman of Denver and Rio Grande fame, took over Mr. White's job after the big Young proxy victory, one good man replaced another. So the stockholders came out just about even on the change. As for Harold Vanderbilt, he lost his base in the company that had been created by the old Commodore. But railroading as a whole had fallen on evil days, and the Central was no longer in a position to support a dynasty in any case. Perhaps it would have been better, on balance, if Harold Vanderbilt had taken his money out of the Central years before.

The moral of books about monied families, then, is that there is no single moral. Monied dynasties are interesting. But if what a monied man creates passes into the hands of others, it can be interesting, too. In either case, money is as money does: the name that is attached to it is quite, quite immaterial. Whether a Dodge is made by a Dodge or by a Chrysler, the thing that counts is what is under the hood. ◈

▸ THE COMMITTEE AND ITS CRITICS by William F. Buckley, Jr. (G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1962, 352 pp. $4.95)

Reviewed by William Henry Chamberlin

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities (HUAC for short) has been the target for an unprecedented campaign of abuse, slander, and denigration, spearheaded by the American Communist Party and its proliferating fronts, but extending to well-meaning though poorly informed "liberals." As a result an image has been built up of a monstrous inquisition, invading the privacy and personal lives of blameless citizens, who are supposedly de-

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nied elementary rights, such as representation by counsel. The thoroughly false allegation is sometimes made that HUAC has never sponsored legislation.

It is high time that the sober factual truth about the Committee, its functions, purposes, and accomplishments should be told. William F. Buckley, Jr. in collaboration with the editors and contributors of *National Review* has done this very effectively in an over-all survey of the history of this controversial body. What emerges is an image of a Congressional Committee, operating under legal procedures and restraints, properly authorized by Congress to keep a watchdog eye on a permanent conspiracy against the security of the American Republic, making its normal share of mistakes, but casting a badly needed spotlight on some activities of Soviet spy rings and on the operations and methods of the numerous "fronts" by which the Communist Party tries to infiltrate into American public life and enlist the cooperation of duped innocents for its purposes.

Investigation is one of the oldest established rights of Congress and has never been successfully contested in the courts. One of the curious inconsistencies in leftist attacks on HUAC is that methods of searching probe which evoked loud cheers when applied against suspected criminals and "malefactors of great wealth" are denounced as outrageous when applied to individuals suspected of taking part in a conspiracy with implications of espionage and even treason.

One of the most colorful chapters in the book is Ralph de Toledano's staccato, rapid-fire reconstruction of the case of Alger Hiss, which was touched off by hearings of the HUAC. The confrontation of the repentant former communist agent, Whittaker Chambers and the unrepentant Hiss, who at first denied ever knowing Chambers, is one of the biggest dramas of the postwar period. Drawing on an intimate knowledge of all the details, acquired by journalistic coverage of the case, de Toledano shows how Hiss's first attitude of contemptuous superiority was broken down bit by bit, until the revelations in the spectacular "pumpkin papers" led to the indictment and conviction of Hiss for perjury, the statute of limitations excluding the possibility of a more serious charge.

Student groups, egged on by local communists, carried out riotous demonstrations against HUAC hearings in San Francisco in May 1960. A film, "Operation Abolition," showing these demonstra-

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tions, has been attacked with remarkable venom. The book contains M. Stanton Evans' exhaustive examination of what really happened in San Francisco, and the role of well-known local communists in the affair.

The Committee has probably suffered from its name. "Un-American" does lend itself to satire and suggests an unduly wide free-wheeling range of activities. Perhaps "Anti-American" would be a more specific definition of what HUAC is really about. Mr. Buckley thinks "Committee on Communist Activities" would define the proper scope of the Committee's functions more satisfactorily and elaborates his suggestion as follows:

"It is not despicable movements . . . that we want to see watched over by a committee of Congress. It is any despicable idea (whether historically un-American or not) which (a) is being sustained by foreign and powerful enemies of the republic, or (b) threatens explosive internal crises."

As Mr. William F. Rickenbacker shows in his excellent chapter, a short history of the Committee, HUAC had a narrow escape from extinction in 1945, when illusions about the harmlessness of communism, the supposed "democracy" of the Soviet Union, and Stalin's willingness to cooperate for peace and justice were at their height. An amendment offered by Representative John Rankin of Mississippi, making the committee permanent, squeezed through by the close margin of 208 to 186.

But since that time, despite the drumfire of hostile criticism, HUAC has gained steadily in popular esteem and congressional support. When Representative James Roosevelt of California went on the warpath against HUAC and started his own "Operation Abolition," he received commendatory pats on the back from *The Washington Post* and also from *The New York Times*.

But when the votes were counted, Mr. Roosevelt mustered exactly five supporters, as against 412 who favored the continuation of the Committee. Here, as on such issues as the recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations, the popular instinct, as reflected in near unanimous votes of Congress, has clearly not been much affected by the fulminations of leftist intellectuals.

A chapter on the procedures employed by the Committee shows that there were some mistakes and inconsistencies in the first postwar years. However, in 1953 elaborate rules of procedure were adopted, with careful consideration of the rights of witnesses to

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be represented by counsel and of persons placed in an adverse light by testimony before the Committee to appear before the Committee and state their side of the case.

Most of what has been written about the Committee, apart from its own publications, has been in a hostile polemical spirit. Anyone who is interested in getting a fair factual picture should read this book, which, although prepared by individuals friendly to the aims and purposes of HUAC, contains much useful documentary and factual material. Indeed, no one can discuss the lively controversial subject of the Committee with authority without making himself familiar with the contents of this first over-all survey of its work.

In looking through this story of HUAC one is constantly impressed by the extravagant vehemence and persistence of the attacks which have been delivered against this particular exercise of the established investigative power of Congress. This seems to reflect not spontaneous outbursts of indignation, but a carefully laid design to discredit and, if possible, destroy a body which has cast much light on the dark and devious ways of the communist underground and made itself thoroughly obnoxious to subversives and conscious or unconscious Soviet agents.

Of these enemies HUAC may well be proud, as Grover Cleveland was loved for the enemies he made. ◈

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PELATIAH WEBSTER, "Strictures On Tender Acts" (1780). Available as a pamphlet, "Not Worth a Continental," from the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

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